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WELLINGTON'S PLACE IN THE WORLD.

In that profession which Wellington ennobled, it is a common saying that every "bullet has its billet," and if this be true of the missiles that man projects, it is true of man himself. Every man has peculiar talents, peculiar functions, and a peculiar duty. Though the utter insignificance of each common individual, and the similar and almost equal fate of great multitudes, may throw a doubt over their lives; of such great men as Wellington, who appear one or two in a century, and tower, like "great sea marks," high above the level of the human ocean, there can be no doubt they were sent into the world for a purpose—to guide and to teach mankind, and to influence the great current of history. Caesar, though he did not know himself to what purpose he was destined, was, by his great talents, the chief destroyer of the Roman Republic; and, loosening the bonds of an old and decaying society, he prepared the way for that better order of society, and the prevalence of that purer religion which commenced soon after his time. He destroyed the prestige that made the Republic sacred, and that might have continued it an incubus on the world. Charlemagne, an agent at a distant interval in the same work, fused into one many barbarous tribes and nations, and made modern civilisation possible. What Washington and Napoleon effected is too recent to admit of doubt or contradiction. One contributed to make the New Continent a safe home for the oppressed people of Europe, and to establish the superiority of civil wisdom over military prowess; the other helped to drive the Old World into the New, and bring into discredit the most transcendent military talents that ever appeared—for good judges admit his superiority on many points as a mere soldier and strategist to Wellington, though he was morally less grand, and infinitely inferior in motive and in dignity; and, like Washington, though by a converse action, he exalted civil wisdom in the general estimation.

The great Duke was a Field-Marshal and a Prime Minister; combining his moral with his military qualities, he was the first and noblest soldier of the age, and the greatest practical statesman. But these terms only express his political relations. He was also a most influential member of society, of which military men and statesmen are only portions, and not always the most influential portions. He was for fifty years before the public, attracting the eyes of all men; and, after a life of incessant activity and exposure to every kind of danger, he died in peace at a very advanced age, and is embalmed for ever in the grateful memory of mankind. Never before was any man so much spoken of, never before was any individual for so long a period the observed of all observers. The fame of his victories, and his statesmanship, and the length of his life, have made him known all over the world. Swift as the telegraph could convey the information, the one topic, that every man had on his lips last week not only in England, but throughout France and Germany, and the rest of Europe, in our Colonies, and the United States, was Wellington. He connected the sympathies of all nations. He was kindred to them all. His death was knelled throughout the world. Though entirely an Englishman, he was the heritage of all mankind. His great success as a soldier, his plain common-sense and sturdy honesty as a statesman, his protracted and happy life, and his universal fame, all combined to make him a man the like and the equal of whom is

not to be found in history. It is impossible to suppose that such a man was to answer no other purpose than to lead English armies and govern for a time the English State. His existence has a greater moral and a nobler purpose. He had a place in the heart of the world as well as in the heart of England. His presence amongst us was a significant sign of something greater and more important than himself; and what that was—the moral that his existence taught, and the purpose that his life served to society, it is now our intention, however feebly and imperfectly, to endeavour to trace.

To the generality of mankind he is great, chiefly as the conqueror of another great man. His courage, skill, and indomitable perseverance prevented society from being trodden under the hoof of a great military tyranny. For this he was most deservedly honoured; but, while we honour his great military deeds, we cannot overlook the fact that a military tyranny like that which he broke in pieces is again raising its head in France; and that as terrible a military tyranny as that of the Emperor Napoleon is dominant over all the Continent. To put down Bonaparte was not the greatest purpose for which Wellington was sent into the world. His successful statesmanship emancipated the Roman Catholics, and gave them equal political rights; but it failed to satisfy them or abate the restless ambition of their priesthood. His military prowess and his statesmanship were more successful in their immediate than in their ultimate results; and we must look beyond both to discover the real purpose of his existence, and find his true place in the moral history of society.

Coming into manhood at the period when the French Revolution began to agitate Europe, it influenced powerfully his quick and discerning mind. Pledged by his position to the service of the State, he was necessarily adverse to the Revolution: he noticed it with becoming horror in his first speech in Parliament; and was from the beginning, by birth, by connexion, by inclination, a true Conservative, devotedly attached to the service of his King and country. As Bonaparte was the child and champion of the Revolution, so Wellington, whose great fame was acquired by defeating him, was its offspring also, but in the second degree, and almost born with hostility to the parent he was to strangle. The one was the champion of rude and hasty violence, the other the champion of old, steady, methodical, established political order. In the end the latter triumphed, and Wellington's talents and his great military success produced the triumph of Conservatism over Anarchy. He carried back society to principles from which it had too rashly departed. Wellington's genius, like the cause he served, was orderly, steady, resolute, unflinching, humane, and in the end beneficial. It had none of the rash impulse or fitful violence of revolution. Even in using destructive means it was eminently conservative; and in his character, prowess, and success, society finds the most convincing testimony ever afforded of the superiority of inherited method and order, and of the gradual transmission of improvement over hasty and theoretical revolution.

But Conservatism, carried too far, and persisted in too long, was in its turn taught a lesson by the man who had restored it to dignity and power. The statesman completed the task of the warrior. If the perils and horrors of the Revolution first made him a Conservative; if the public wants then made him a great general the progress of society, and of very different wants at a later period, made him a Reformer. He was always a reformer

of the army; because it was necessary to his military success. He also reformed the public offices, because it was necessary to his civil success that he should do so. He reformed the political and religious institutions of the State; he lent his aid to reform our commercial system; and, in the very spirit of Conservatism, he led the way in quiet and safe innovation.

The great Duke was truly the champion of right at all times, and the herald of a new social order, of which the great principle is that the wants of society are to overrule every pre-established system. If it be not degrading so high a moral subject by a material comparison, the Duke seems to have filled a place in society like the points on railways which lead the train quietly and safely from line to line, sending it forward on its way, or shunting it securely till danger is passed; or it was like that of a turn-table, and served peaceably to move society from the narrow gauge of old Toryism on to the broad gauge of new Reform. Emblem both of the restoration and of the decay of the old system; he was, by his peculiar virtues and the length of his life, the medium of connexion between two great systems of society; to each of which, in turn, he gave the superiority, though he gave the final victory to that which is only a step forward to a better system still. To show the futility of both, he was successively their master; and to impress on us the comparative inutility of military success, his own great conquests of Bonaparte were even before his death demonstrated to be incapable of rescuing the French from military subjugation. Influenced by the wants of the age, Wellington was at each epoch the successful champion of opposite systems, and expressing at both epochs the prevailing truth, he became in succession the destroyer of revolutionary violence and of stagnant Conservatism.

And how did the great Duke accomplish these objects? He obeyed the aphorism of Bacon, and conquered nature by studying her laws. The distinguishing characteristic of his mind was a quick appreciation of facts. Like an Indian on the trail, he was all eye and all ear. His own safety, and the safety of his army—which he thought much more of than his own—required from him a ready and just appreciation of facts. By them he guided his military operations, and by them he decided his policy. He was in no sense a theoretical or philosophical politician: he had none of the genius of a Turgot or a Burke: he was born an Englishman and an aristocrat, and he loved the Constitution from habit, and from an instinctive rather than a reasoning conviction; but old convictions, habit, and attachments, all gave way to the influence of facts; and to that he sacrificed the longest cherished principles of his party and his class. He accepted the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, when he saw that only by such acceptance could the Government be peaceably carried on; and he emancipated the Roman Catholics, when he saw that longer to retain the penal laws was to endanger the public peace. So, he willingly co-operated and used all his interest with his party, to carry the commercial reforms of 1842, and the still more important changes of 1846—though opposed to the principles he had always defended, and though he had to separate from his own friends—because he saw that the safety of the State and the welfare of the people demanded it. In the field and in the Cabinet facts were his guides. That a huckster, a merchant, or a carpenter, must shape his conduct exclusively by facts, to be successful, is readily admitted, but the example of the Duke of Wellington was required

to carry the conviction to all minds that the politician and the legislator can proceed by no other method. To flights of rhetoric and flights of fancy, to antiquated maxims and fine-wrought theories, his life was opposed; to every appeal except to the senses, to all other authority but that of the world in which we live, he was deaf and blind; and to the latest times, and to men of all classes, his wonderful success throughout life teaches the great lesson of guiding conduct exclusively by observing and following the fact and the truth.

Even his reverence for the principle of duty was subordinate to his respect for facts. It was his duty to serve his country; it was his duty to perform all his functions with care, and patience, and indefatigable zeal; but, in doing that duty, he followed blindly no transmitted maxims: he ascertained what was his duty by an examination of facts. So, when in India, he prepared to proceed to Egypt without waiting for orders; but he submitted without repining to being superseded. No man had a stronger sense of the principle of duty; throughout his life he acted on it; but his ideas of duty were formed by the living facts of existence. The immense height to which this governing principle led him is an encouragement to all men to do their duty. In works of supererogatory beneficence the Duke never engaged. He planned no philanthropic societies, he never took the lead in schemes for bettering the condition of the poor. He was never importunately busy with this charity and that humane project; nevertheless, his services in the cause of humanity and of his country far surpass those of many loud-talking professors of philanthropy. His life is a perpetual hymn in praise of the humble principle of duty, and tells every man, each in his sphere, that only by doing his duty can he be the benefactor of his species.

The Duke from the beginning of life followed the bent of his own genius. He achieved greatness by no self-mortification. He continued in the state in which he was born, but he ascended to its topmost height. His whole life till he reached the very pinnacle was spent in climbing. Every day almost saw an additional success and an additional gratification. He made even occasions of happiness from mortifications; denials of money and men in the early part of the Peninsular War were additional difficulties in his path which gave him delight to overcome. All his great exertions were great pleasures; and no more happy existence can, perhaps, be conceived than his;—day after day overcoming new difficulties, and achieving new successes. Unexampledly prosperous, his career as a soldier scarcely ever received a check; and, in well serving his country, he served himself. In following the guiding hand of Nature, he became a happy as well as a great man.

The general admiration loudly testifies to the attachment of the people. But Wellington never was a popularity-hunter. He took the utmost care of his soldiers; but he never mingled with them, or, like some of his generals, sported with them. By being always just, and doing what was right, he won attachment. He was rigid with the common soldiers; but he was rigid with their superiors also. He was in no sense a democrat, nor a demagogue; yet he served the people faithfully, in serving the Crown; and, in spite of some of his predilections, conferred more benefits on them than their professed friends.

Acting as a man, he ennobled human nature; conquering all political systems, he established the superiority of the living man and the living truth to all pre-existing forms. He was morally great, but his moral greatness was all founded on facts. The basis of his duty was nothing superstitious nor supernatural. He was guided by the external world; he followed the bent of his genius, and was great and powerful by nature. His life, as an encouragement to duty, and contrasted with the lives of his opponents and contemporaries, is a warning against ambition. His place in history, or we should say, in civilisation, will be alongside, or even above, that of Washington. Like him, he was the defender of the right, the scourger of wrong; the destroyer, without intending it, of decayed institutions; and the introducer, without intending it, of a new and improved order of society. His whole existence was a practical refutation of all falsehood. He may finally be said to be the founder of a new reverence in high places—the reverence of facts, which is but another name for nature.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, AS POLITICIAN AND CIVILIAN.

WE last week published a full Memoir of the Life and brilliant Military Services of the great Duke of Wellington, and appended a short résumé of his civil and political career. We now subjoin a more copious retrospect of the Duke's services to his country as a statesman—embracing the long and eventful period between 1815 and 1852.

Very rarely in the history of mankind has it fallen to the lot of those who have distinguished themselves as conquerors or generals to exercise control over the civil affairs of the countries they may have conquered, served, or saved. Alexander and Cæsar are examples in the ancient world; Napoleon among contemporaries: for, although he lived to accomplish wonders in the internal organization of France, his loudest complaint, and his strongest plea with posterity, was, that he was, in a manner, forced into perpetual war, was suddenly arrested in his career as a ruler, and that, had he been spared to "fulfil his mission," he would have developed still grander plans.

The Duke of Wellington was favoured, in this respect, more than any other great commander, of past or present times. After a military career of unparalleled glory—the time occupied in his achievements, and the greatness of the interests at stake, being considered—fortune reserved for him a civil career, which, if it was less brilliant in its incidents, was certainly of scarcely less importance to the welfare of his country. After nearly twenty years of war, in which conquest seemed an inevitable result of his appearance in the field, it was his lot to pass through more than five-and-thirty years of civil activity; during the greater part of which period he was the most prominent and influential among our statesmen, as in the former part of his life he had been the foremost man in an age productive to a marvel in military talent.

The Duke of Wellington commenced his political career under circumstances at once favourable and unfavourable. With the prestige of his conquests still around him; with the vivid remembrance in men's minds of the great scene that had attended his first entrance into the House of Lords; and when the eulogistic gratitude of his countrymen, expressed through the Speaker of the House of Commons, furnished the noblest justification that could be offered for the dignities heaped on him by the Crown; with these brilliant accessories, and while still in the full vigour of early manhood, that the Duke of Wellington should have lived to fulfil all the great expectations that had been formed of him, from his conduct in India, while entrusted with the civil administration of conquered provinces, as well as by those who had perused his Peninsular despatches—not yet communicated to the world—this might have been looked upon but as the natural consequence of great services and a grand reputation. Yet, flattering and favourable as were the circumstances under which the Duke entered the political arena, there were other and hidden causes at work which silently and secretly tended to undermine his great influence, and to destroy, in the apprehension of the great majority of his countrymen, the brilliant prestige derived from his military services.

It is one of the necessary and salutary consequences of our constitutional system of government, that public men are not always esteemed in proportion to their actual personal merits; that is to say, according to their intellect, experience, sagacity, and general political talent; but that they stand or fall, in the public esteem, by the opinions which they may entertain on great disputed questions, and the degree in which they may oppose or support the wishes of the people. It is not here necessary to moralise on this notorious fact—its notoriety is sufficient. Three of the most eminent of British subjects during the present century have marvelously exemplified the power of the popular will in this respect. Sir Robert Peel, while he stood forth as the champion of defunct Toryism, was held up as an object of antagonism for the people; Lord Brougham, while still Henry Brougham and the eloquent champion of popular rights, was on the other hand, a popular idol. When Sir Robert Peel discovered that the tendency of the age was adverse to his earlier creed, and boldly resolved to meet the wants and wishes of the nation, the popular antagonism became converted into enthusiastic admiration; while Lord Brougham, in consequence of the obtrusive propagandism of his late reactionary opinions, has lost his popularity, and been ranked with the enemies of the people.

During a part of his long career, the Duke of Wellington was subjected to similar vicissitudes—was alternately the object of popular disparagement (to use the mildest term), and of popular respect. It is well to know that public men in England are so constituted that, without hardening their hearts towards their countrymen, when they believe them to be ungrateful, they can maintain their equilibrium alike amidst adulation and censure, popularity and unpopularity, love and hatred. It was the natural privilege and advantage of Wellington that he was physically and mentally so organised as to be, we will not say insensible, but impervious to all such influences. His common-sense protected and shielded him alike against flattery and odium. He best knew, better than his eulogists, in what he had really done good and served his country; so that he could afford to weigh and test the praises awarded for his deeds; and equally, when later in life the current turned against him, he was the fitting judge of his own motives and principles of action. His adamant nature stood by him through all trials; and when, at last, his conduct proved that, in obstructing the public will, he had not acted from pure obstinacy, but rather from his own ideas of his duty and of the philosophy of statesmanship; and when he once more received the long-suspended ovations of his countrymen, he showed himself as little moved in the one case as he had been in the other.

The political life of the Duke of Wellington began inauspiciously. The great enemy of England being laid low, the empire began to feel the reaction consequent on a long period of mad excitement. Enormous debts had been contracted; an artificial prosperity had long subsisted, which was now to decay the nation had ridden on the high tide of enthusiasm till the prosaic facts of life were disagreeable, if not intolerable; war prices, scarcely felt during the war, became unbearable in a time of peace; an active, energetic, and most able Opposition in both Houses of Parliament was engaged in arousing the attention of the public at large to the enormous abuses that had crept into public affairs during a succession of corrupt, not to say profligate, Administrations, fostered and shielded in the shadow cast on domestic Government by the events on the Continent; the ancient spirit of the British people—their love of self-government (not stifled by the disastrous result of the attempts of the French in the same direction) was once more aroused; and once more they sought, though for long in vain, to realise the practical blessings of the theoretical liberty guaranteed by their Constitution; in fine, the nation was being prepared for one of those great convulsive throes—one of those impulsive movements which, at various times, have characterised its history, and in the course of which, as experience showed, the people would be prepared to sweep away any obstructions, whether of Reputations, of Men, or of Institutions, that could stand in the way of the accomplishment of their righteous will. Now the Duke of Wellington, by the constitution of his mind, by his hereditary associations, by his personal preferences, by his military habits, and, let us add, by his conscientious convictions, was utterly and sternly opposed to all this new and agitating spirit of inquiry and reform. He looked upon the measures proposed, and on the instruments of the movement, with equal scorn. His fixed ideas led him to resist Catholic Emancipation, Fiscal Reduction, Parliamentary Reform—every proposition, in short, that was advocated by Grey, Brougham, Tierney—nay, in some instances, even by that brilliant champion of his own peculiar party—Canning. He ever worshipped a political god, Terminus. Not greater was his dislike to the measures than his contempt for the press, that most potent yet developing agent in their accomplishment. He had suffered so much in Portugal and Spain from "those rascally newspapers," as he termed them, that he forgot the vast difference between a journalist who, in his avidity for news, betrayed to the enemy the positions or plans of the British forces abroad, and the organ of the public wishes at home, engaged in a legitimate crusade against corruption and administrative tyranny. All these things considered, one cannot marvel that the Duke of Wellington should have stood in imminent danger of seeing his popularity wane, or that in the course of a few years he should have become, in the popular mind so identified with the hated system of Government, that no small portion of the hatred it excited should have been concentrated on himself.

It was not, however, until some time after the great events of 1815 that the Duke of Wellington began to take any prominent part in home politics. He attended with tolerable regularity in Parliament, and voted with the Tory Ministry of the day, but rarely took any part in the debates. In 1818 he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, an office which he continued to fill until several years after a great schism arose in the Tory party. In 1819 the Duke made a speech in the House of Lords, which is worthy of notice, as embodying one of a series of energetic protests against Catholic emancipation. It is due, however, to the political memory of the Duke, to say that he never took a religious or sectarian, but always what may fairly be called a statesmanlike view of that question. Nearly a quarter of a century before he had sat in the Irish Parliament, and soon after the commencement of the present century he had first been appointed to the office of Secretary for Ireland. An Irishman by birth, he had thus enjoyed many opportunities of studying the Catholic question in its bearings on State policy. At the same time, he always proclaimed the great principle that difference of religion was no disqualification for the public service; and although he then opposed not only Mr. Pitt's transmitted scheme of Emancipation, but also the suggested increase of the grant to Maynooth, he did so avowedly not in animosity towards his Catholic countrymen, but because, on political grounds, he dreaded an increase to the political power of the Catholic Church. In the speech in 1819, already referred to, the same view is taken; and it is also remarkable for that frankness and plain speaking which characterised the Duke's speeches when he became a more important political character. He did not disguise that the Protestant religion was hateful in Ireland, as having been imposed by the sword; and he assumed, as a matter of course, that the Catholics would use any power conceded to them in the recovery not only of their lost position, but also of the alienated possessions of the Church. Still he did not object to emancipation, if adequate political securities could be procured; but he frankly confessed his conviction that such securities were impossible. It is curious to notice, that the Duke, at this early period, touched on one point which has much occupied men's minds at the present time—that of a veto in the

British Crown on the appointment of Catholic Bishops. At that date, the Pope had willingly yielded this concession on his part, reserving only to himself the spiritual ordination; but the Irish had expressed the strongest disapproval of this scheme as an attack on their national independence. Under these circumstances, the Duke thought it was impossible at that date to concede emancipation consistently with the security of the Protestant Church; but, at the same time, he set an example to the Eldons and Percivals of looking at the subject from a political rather than from a religious point of view. Nine years after, and within a very few months of his standing forward as the agent of emancipation, the Duke repented his belief in the impossibility of its being granted.

We now leap to the year 1823, when we find the Duke of Wellington once more engaged in the service of his country abroad. It was no new position for him to be engaged as a diplomatist and plenipotentiary; he had already manifested an extraordinary capacity for those functions, although his calibre was too large to permit his being employed in the ordinary functions of an ambassador, except on very important occasions. One of the first acts of Mr. Canning on his being appointed Foreign Secretary, in 1823, was to nominate the Duke of Wellington as Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Verona. It was well that a man of his stamp was so sent, for when the Duke reached Paris on his way, instead of finding that the relative positions of Russia and Turkey would be the object of the consultations of that Congress, it appeared that the great object of the Allied Sovereigns was to determine the conditions of an intervention in the domestic affairs of Spain. The Duke of Wellington immediately communicated this intelligence to Mr. Canning, demanding instructions. Mr. Canning's reply was prompt and decisive. He said, that, if France attempted an interference in Spain, whether by arms or by threats, the Duke was frankly and peremptorily to declare that to any such interference, come what might, his Majesty the King would not be a party. Acting on these instructions, the Duke opposed the project; and when the other powers resolved on isolating themselves from Spain, the Duke of Wellington refused to withdraw our Ambassador, but left him there, in the hope that he might, by his good office, abate the annoyance and irritation occasioned to the proud Spanish people by the conduct of the Holy Alliance. Subsequently, Mr. Canning requested the Duke of Wellington to become the medium of a special communication which he desired to address to the Spanish Government; and in selecting the Duke of Wellington he wished to pay a compliment to him personally, and at the same time to increase the probability of his wishes being acceded to, from their being conveyed through one who had rendered such great services to the Spanish nation.

In the year 1826, the Duke of Wellington again figured in a diplomatic capacity. The embassy to St. Petersburg is usually held to confer a mark of great honour. The Duke was sent thither, and his appointment tallied in date with the arrival of the Allied Army in Paris. The Emperor of Russia seized on the occasion to pay the Duke of Wellington a very distinguished compliment. He addressed to him an autograph letter, announcing that, in consideration of his great qualities as a soldier and a civilian, and of the distinguished services he had rendered to Europe, the Smolensk regiment of infantry, which had been organised by Peter the Great, and which was held to be one of the crack regiments of the Russian line, would thenceforth be called the Duke of Wellington's regiment. This regiment was one of those which had been under the Duke's general command as the Generalissimo of the Allied Forces.

The office of Commander-in-Chief fell into the gift of the Ministry on the death of the Duke of York. It was immediately conferred, with the unanimous approval of the nation, on the Duke of Wellington.

We now approach an era in the Duke's life when he may be said to have first entered on his period of unpopularity. Among the Tories, as politicians, there was one man who was the object of popular sympathy—not more on account of his genius, for statesmanship, and the fascination of his oratory, than for the enlarged and liberal character of his views on the subject of Catholic Emancipation and foreign policy. Canning was now to receive, at the hands of his Sovereign, the reward of his brilliant career. On the retirement of the Earl of Liverpool, early in the year 1827, King George IV. desired Mr. Canning to form an Administration. The public were surprised, but much pleased, at this recognition of the claims of genius over those of rank or routine. But the chief members of the late Administration, having all along differed from Canning on the great question of Catholic Emancipation chose to assume that he would propose a measure on the subject; and, without allowing the new Ministers the time necessary for negotiation or explanation, six of them simultaneously gave in their resignations. Of these the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were the most important. They were immediately charged with personal and ignoble motives; more especially the Duke of Wellington was considered to have shown a marked hostility to the new Premier, because he not only resigned his office as Master-General of the Ordnance, but also the Command-in-Chief, which political etiquette permitted to be held by an adversary of the Government of the day.

A fierce controversy arose at once as to the motives of the seceding Ministers—a controversy, which was renewed about six years ago, by Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli, when their object was to damage the character of Sir Robert Peel. The public at large are now better instructed in political affairs than they then were; and they know how comparatively little purely personal motives influence the political combinations of public men.

Without attempting here to settle the general conditions of such a controversy, we give the correspondence that took place between the Duke and Mr. Canning, with some subsequent observations by the former in explanation of his conduct. Mr. Canning opened the correspondence with the following letter:—

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Foreign Office, April 10, 6 P.M., 1827.

My dear Duke of Wellington,—The King has at an audience, from which I have just returned, been graciously pleased to signify to me his Majesty's commands to lay before his Majesty, with as little loss of time as possible, a plan of arrangement for the reconstruction of the Administration. In executing these commands, it will be as much my own wish as it is my duty to his Majesty to adhere to the principles upon which Lord Liverpool's Government has so long acted together. I need not add how essentially the accomplishment must depend upon your Grace's continuing a member of the Cabinet.

Ever, my dear Duke of Wellington, your Grace's sincere and faithful servant,
GEORGE CANNING.

The Duke of Wellington replied with something less than his usual straightforward frankness:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING.

London, April 10, 1827.

My dear Mr. Canning,—I have received your letter of this evening, informing me that the King has desired you to lay before his Majesty a plan for the reconstruction of the Administration; and that, in executing these commands, it was your wish to adhere to the principles on which Lord Liverpool's Government had so long acted together. I anxiously desire to be able to serve his Majesty, as I have done hitherto in his Cabinet, with the same colleagues. But, before I can give an answer to your obliging proposition, I should wish to know who the person is you intend to propose to his Majesty as the head of the Government.

Ever, my dear Mr. Canning, yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

The sneer implied in this question provoked the following reply:—

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Foreign Office, April 11, 1827.

My dear Duke of Wellington,—I believed it to be so generally understood, that the King usually intrusts the formation of an Administration to the individual whom it is his Majesty's gracious intention to place at the head of it; that it did not occur to me, when I communicated to your Grace yesterday the command which I had just received from his Majesty, to add, that, in the present instance, his Majesty does not intend to depart from the usual course of proceeding on such occasions. I am sorry to have delayed some hours this answer to your Grace's letter; but, from the nature of the subject, I did not like to forward it without having previously submitted it (together with your Grace's letter) to his Majesty.—Ever, my dear Duke of Wellington, your Grace's sincere and faithful servant,

GEORGE CANNING.

On the evening of the same day, the Duke responded finally thus to Mr. Canning:—

London, April 11, 1827.

My dear Mr. Canning,—I have received your letter of this day, and I did not understand the one of yesterday evening as you explained it to me. I understood from yourself that you had in contemplation another arrangement, and I do not believe that the practice to which you refer has been so invariable as to enable me to affix a meaning to your letter, which its words, in my opinion, did not convey. I trust that you will have experienced no inconvenience from the delay of this answer, which I assure you has been occasioned by my desire to discover a mode by which I could continue united with my recent colleagues. I sincerely wish that I could bring my mind to the conclusion, that with the best intentions on your part, your Government could be conducted practically on the principles of that of Lord Liverpool; that it would be generally so considered; or that it would be adequate to meet our difficulties in a manner satisfactory to the King, or conducive to the interests of the country. As, however, I am convinced that these principles must be abandoned eventually, that all our measures would be viewed with suspicion by the usual supporters of the Government; that I could do no good in the Cabinet; and that at last I should be obliged to separate myself from it, at the moment at which such separation would be more inconvenient to the King's service than it can be at present; I must beg of you to request his Majesty to excuse me from belonging to his councils. Ever, my dear Mr. Canning, yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

Party spirit ran very high at the time. The Whigs, or at least some of the most liberal among them, at once determined to support Mr. Canning against what they deemed a personal discourtesy and hostility on the part of the Duke of Wellington and his friends. Indeed, it required a very large and liberal interpretation of the principles on which English politicians act, to excuse so simultaneous and suspicious a desertion by the aristocratic Tories of one whose selection by the Crown seemed a triumph of talent over a tyrannical oligarchy. The Duke of Wellington personally met the charge of hostility in the House of Lords, February 25, 1828, in the following words:—

I rise to protest against any such imputation being cast upon me, as that I ever entertained any personal hostility to Mr. Canning. On a former occasion I stated distinctly to your Lordships why I did not think proper to remain in the Government of which Mr. Canning was the head. The communications that passed between me and Mr. Canning have, unfortunately, I must be allowed to say, been made public enough, and I defy any man to point out anything like personal feeling in those communications. It is true that when I found it necessary to withdraw from the Government, I also thought it my duty to lay down the military office which I held; but I beg leave to call your Lordships' recollection to the explanation which I gave at that time, and to my subsequent conduct. After I left the Government I always met Mr. Canning in the way in which I had been accustomed to meet him, and did not depart from those habits which had marked our previous intercourse. But I will go further, and say that I had no hostility towards Mr. Canning's Government. I did, it is true, propose that a clause should be added to the Corn Bill, but did I not at the same time beg of the Government to adopt that clause, or something like it, and not to abandon the bill? I must again repeat that to the day of his death I felt no personal hostility to Mr. Canning; and that I am equally free from the imputation of having entertained any political hostility towards him. To whatever persons the declaration of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Huskisson), was intended to apply, I claim to myself the right of not being included in the number of Mr. Canning's enemies.

There is an air of special pleading throughout this correspondence; and that the Duke felt his position assailable was proved by the pains he took to explain his conduct. He stated that, in asking the offensive question in letter No. 1, he had in his mind what had happened between him and Mr. Canning a short time before, when that gentleman had contemplated making Mr. Robinson (now Lord Ripon) Premier; and he also retorted on Mr. Canning's advocates that Mr. Canning himself, on the appointment of Lord Liverpool, in 1812, had asked the identical question. The real fact was, that the old Tory party did not like Mr. Canning's Premiership, and were not yet prepared to grant Catholic Emancipation. The Duke of Wellington and his colleagues acted in their political and not in their personal capacity; and only sought a reasonable excuse to throw off their forced connexion with Mr. Canning, who was not the Premier of their choice.

In explaining his conduct in the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington rested his resignation solely on the known antagonism of himself and Mr. Canning, on the Roman Catholic question. How, he asked, could he continue in office with a Premier to whom he must be opposed on so vital a question of domestic policy? He declared the impossibility of his giving to the right hon. gentleman the support which he had a right to demand from a member of the Cabinet. He had continued heretofore in office with Mr. Canning, because the principles of Lord Liverpool's Cabinet were known, and the granting of Roman Catholic Emancipation formed no part of them; but now he would be called upon to change one of the fundamental laws of the realm. It had been said that he had threatened the King to resign, unless he were made Prime Minister. He ridiculed the probability of his resigning the office of Commander-in-Chief, for which his past career had qualified him, for that of Prime Minister, for which he was wholly unfitted, and the taking of which would be the mere gratification of an empty ambition. "I know," he said, "that I am disqualified for any such office; and I therefore say that, feeling as I do with respect to the situation which I recently filled at the head of the army—liking it, as I did, from the opportunity it gave me to improve the condition of my old comrades in arms—knowing my own capacity for filling that office, and my incapacity for filling the post of First Minister, I should have been mad, and worse than mad, if I had ever entertained the insane project which certain individuals, for their own base purposes, have imputed to me." This emphatic declaration, which did not attract especial notice at the time, was afterwards much commented upon when, in the following year, the Duke of Wellington accepted office as Prime Minister.

The Duke also excused himself from the charge of having factiously resigned the command of the army. He deprecated the idea that a difference in political opinion was any reason for resigning the command; but he considered that the tone and tenor of the last of the letters he had received from Mr. Canning—a letter emanating from the express command of his Majesty—precluded him from continuing his relation with the new Minister, either with advantage to the country or with credit to himself. He also declared that his resolution had not been adopted hastily, but was the result of the most mature deliberation.

The Duke of Wellington did not confine himself to negative hostility to Mr. Canning. On a new Corn Bill being introduced by the Ministry, the Duke himself moved an amendment in committee, on which the Government sustained a defeat in the House of Lords; and, although the Duke afterwards declared, on the strength of a correspondence between himself and Mr. Huskisson, that he believed the Government had assented to the amendment being moved, the notion be-

came fixed in the public mind, that he had "taken advantage" of an ambiguity of expression on the part of Mr. Huskisson, thus to strike a blow at the new Ministry at the very outset of its career. Mr. Canning, who felt very deeply and sensitively this last step on the part of the Duke, lent his sanction to the popular opinion, by insinuating in his place in Parliament that his Grace had only been an instrument in the hands of others. Looking back at these events through the diminishing glass of time and distance, we see only an ordinary manœuvre on the part of the aristocratic section of the Tories to disembarass themselves of some men, such as Canning and Huskisson, whose Liberalism and popularity were inconvenient and distasteful—a manœuvre for which an excuse was found in a pretended zeal against emancipating the Roman Catholics.

The death of Mr. Canning having led to the formation of the Goderich Administration, the Duke of Wellington's scruples were removed, and he resumed (on the 27th of August, 1827) the command of the army. In the January following the *pro tempore* Administration of Lord Goderich having also broken down, the Duke of Wellington was called upon by the King to form an Administration. His first impulse was to decline the mission: but, to use his own words, "finding, in the course of the negotiation, which arose out of the commands of his Majesty, that there was a difficulty in getting another individual to fill the place, and that it was the unanimous wish of those with whom he usually acted that he should take the office, he determined to accept it." In other words, the idea of duty and discipline prevailed over other considerations; for all who have studied the Duke's character will believe that he was for the time quite sincere when he declared his belief that he was not fitted for the office of Prime Minister.

Installed in office, the Duke went to work in true military style. He was certainly popular with the aristocracy and with the educated classes in general, while those who did not quite agree in his principles waited with curiosity to see what he would do. His Administration was composed chiefly of the noblemen and gentlemen who had resigned with him in the previous year, of whom Mr. Peel was the most prominent. Mr. Canning, however, had infused a little Whig blood in his Ministry. The new members thus affiliated to Toryism, Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Grant, were also retained. Lord Palmerston, although an old member of the Tory Government, had always been a friend or satellite of Mr. Canning. We have said that the Duke went to work in military style. The constitution of his mind forbade him doing otherwise. Even when he gave way on a question, it was only as a general abandonment of an untenable position. He was a martinet in his official capacity, and exacted the most prompt and entire obedience from his subordinate colleagues. Mr. Huskisson soon felt this. The Duke, like all military men, hated ideologists; and he looked on Mr. Huskisson, with his Liberal Toryism and Free-trade tendencies, as one of this class. It was not long before he found an excuse for getting rid of him, and those others who were not Tories of pure blood. On the East Retford Bill, Mr. Huskisson presumed to hold an opinion, and gave a vote different from that which the *mot d'ordre* had prescribed. The same night, feeling the importance of the step, he sat down, in excitement, and wrote a letter, in which he conditionally placed his office at the Duke's disposal. Had the Duke desired to retain him, he would have given him time to reflect; but the opportunity was tempting; and the Duke chose to regard the letter as an unconditional resignation. He even proceeded to clench the matter by filling up Mr. Huskisson's place. In vain did Lord Palmerston endeavour to patch up a reconciliation. The Duke was immovable; and, in answer to a suggestion that there had been a misconception, wrote his celebrated words, "It is no mistake; it can be no mistake; it shall be no mistake." This positiveness settled the affair. The resignation of Mr. Huskisson was accompanied by those of Lord Palmerston and Mr. Grant; and the Tories once more found themselves freed from the intrusion of those Liberal views which they had been obliged to tolerate in Canning for the sake of his talents, but which they did not choose to submit to in the younger statesmen of his school. Looking back to these events, there cannot be a doubt that the Duke of Wellington's conduct was more worthy the camp than the Cabinet; that in the present day, or from a less illustrious man, such proceedings would not be tolerated; that, by depriving himself of the services of Huskisson and Palmerston, the Duke accelerated the destruction of the Tory party, by stamping it as intolerant and exclusive, while forcing Lord Palmerston into the arms of the Whigs; yet such was the lingering respect of the nation for him, that these arbitrary acts were received with applause. The people thought it a capital joke to see these theoretical men thus sent to the right about by the practical soldier; and it is on record that when the news of Huskisson's dismissal was known, numerous vessels in the Thames hoisted their flags in token of satisfaction. This was because Mr. Huskisson was known to be a Free-trader.

In other respects the new Administration showed some Liberal tendencies. Apparently, its exclusiveness was confined to the possession of power; the use made of that power was gratifying to the nation. One of the first measures supported by the Duke was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, a kind of *avant courier* to the Emancipation Act. The reasons assigned by the Duke in support of the measure in the House of Lords turned mainly on the inefficiency of the securities provided by the old law, and also on the desirableness of a conciliatory policy. At the same time, when the advocates of Catholic Emancipation plumed themselves on the measure as a step towards their object, the Duke protested in the most solemn manner against any such assumption, and declared emancipation impossible, "unless there should arise some very great change in the position of the question."

About the same period, the Duke took occasion to renew his former protest against any tampering with the Corn Laws, the maintenance of which he held to be necessary to the prosperity of the country. While all these Ministerial changes and adjustments had been going on, movements of an important nature had taken place in Ireland, which were destined to furnish a singular commentary on the character of the Duke of Wellington, and materially to change the aspect of parties in England. The fruits of these events, however, did not manifest themselves for some months, but in the meanwhile, that is to say in the month of June, 1828, the House of Commons having adopted a resolution favourable to the Roman Catholic claims, the Duke, in advertising to that circumstance, again laid it down that the question was one purely of expediency; and, in the hope that something might be done, he recommended that the public mind should be allowed to rest upon the subject.

Parliament having been prorogued, the public mind was no longer occupied with the immediate intentions of the Government; but, on the other hand, the agitation in Ireland, carried on under the control of Mr. O'Connell, had taken an alarming shape. The return of that gentleman for the county of Clare, to the exclusion of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, although it was well known that the learned gentleman, as a Catholic, could not take his seat, had violently agitated the public mind; while the universal ramifications of the Catholic Association in Ireland showed that the people of that country and their leaders were prepared to go to great extremities. Whatever might be the secret deliberations of the Government, no outward manifestations were made of a disposition to yield; indeed, the supposed inflexibility of the Prime Minister's character seemed to render any concession most improbable. Even as late as December, in the year 1828, the obstructive attitude of the Duke of Wellington was maintained. Dr. Curtis, a Catholic Bishop in Ireland, with whom the Duke had formed an acquaintance at Salamanca, wrote to him a letter on the position of the

question, to which a reply was sent which seemed to preclude all hope of settlement. The Marquis of Anglesea, too, was recalled from his post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, because, being openly a friend to Catholic Emancipation, he had, in reply to a letter from the same Dr. Curtis, advised the Catholics to persevere in their resolute efforts, and promised them success as a consequence of their firmness. The secret cause of this demonstration of hostility at the very time when, as it subsequently appeared, the Ministers were deliberating on the terms of concession, would seem to be that the King manifested a strong repugnance, real or assumed, to what he conceived to be a violation of his coronation oath. At length, however, the purposes of the Government oozed out through the planned indiscretion of Mr. Dawson, the brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, who, at a public dinner in Ireland talked in a way to justify the most sanguine hopes of the Roman Catholics. A few weeks put an end to all suspense on the subject.

It was at the era of Catholic Emancipation that the English people first were furnished with a clue to the real character of the Duke of Wellington as a politician. His long and close association with Toryism—his contempt for newspapers—his antagonism to Canning—his systematic opposition to all innovation—had pointed him out as an obstinate and bigotted worshipper of the past in legislation, and an enemy to all efforts to reconcile the present and the future with the altered condition of mankind. As the Prime Minister of an exclusively Tory party, he was in imminent danger of losing, or at least of diminishing, the approbation obtained for him by his splendid services; so that, if ever England was in danger of being animated by revolutionary feelings, strange to say, it was under the dominion of the man whose life had been spent in crushing revolution elsewhere. The intelligence of the resolve of the Cabinet to emancipate the Catholics, fell like a thunderbolt. In estimating the conduct of Wellington and his coadjutor, Peel, we must not be led away by the notion that in what they did they courted popularity. Far from it. Catholic Emancipation had been the war-cry of a party; and the wrongs of our fellow-subjects had admirably served to inspire the eloquence of a Canning or a Brougham; but it would be a mistake to assume that the measure was popular with the people at large, in the same sense as Reform, or Repeal of the Corn Laws. In Ireland, of course, the case was far different; and it was really in reference to the condition of Ireland that the Duke of Wellington and the illustrious commoner who aided him in the great work undertook their difficult task. They believed, or affected to believe, that Ireland was on the verge of civil convulsion, agitated as that country was by the Catholic Association; and they put that danger in the van, both with the Crown and with the Parliament. With the former they found more difficulty than with the latter; so much so, that it needed all the weight of the high authority of Wellington, backed by that of Peel, and a threat of resignation on the part of both, ere the scruples of George the Fourth could be overcome.

The Speech from the Throne contained the first authoritative announcement of the forthcoming measure. It recommended the subject for consideration. In the course of the debate on the Address, the Duke of Wellington announced that the Government were prepared to propose a measure for the emancipation of the Catholics; an announcement which could scarcely be said to have taken either the Parliament or the public by surprise, but the truth of which could scarcely be believed till it issued from the lips of one who seldom spoke in vain. Its effect on the Tory section of both Houses was maddening. Men in whom a few fixed ideas had superseded even the faculty of reasoning, looked upon the proposed act of grace as a positive injury to themselves. Not only did it "undermine the bulwarks of Protestantism;" it also robbed them of their own peculiar objects of hatred and vengeance. With politicians of the Percival and Eldon school, persecution or reprobation of the Roman Catholics was the be all and the end all of their thoughts and of their political system; take away the power of doing so, and they lost the sole object of their mundane existence. That the measure must be carried, all men at once perceived. The King sanctioned it; the "great Captain" proposed it; the leading civilian of the Tory party in the Lower House was prepared to endorse it; the Whigs, however anxious to see their rivals out of power, could not but accept it. Thus, in the eyes of the political heirs of Spencer Percival, the Constitution was gone for ever. There still remained, however, one sweet revenge. They could attack and vilify the men who were thus making a sacrifice of their most cherished opinions and associations, in order to save the State from threatened convulsion. And this part of their public duty they performed to admiration. Never was Minister, not even Sir Robert Peel in 1846, so assailed in this country. As for the Duke, it had been better for him that he were Bonaparte himself; for the vocabulary of abuse against that provoking personage was comparatively limited. The pens and tongues that for fourteen years and more had been employed in lauding him as the hero of heroes, till mankind at large recoiled from the exclusiveness of a praise which dwarfed the merits of so many other great contemporary commanders, were now with as much activity and a fresher motive engaged in heaping on the illustrious saviour of his country every epithet of contumely which insulted honour and virtue can apply to the traitor. The Duke of Wellington was on a tripod of which each support was a treachery. He was a traitor to the Protestant cause; a traitor, and a furtive one to boot, to the Whigs, who had been working at this question with exemplary Quixotism and great political fame for near a quarter of a century, and who now saw the Duke's sword wreathed with their coveted laurels; a traitor, above all, to the memory of Canning, who had been "hunted to death," only a year or so before, because he had wished to free the Catholics, and the Duke had passed the *mot d'ordre* that the work, at all events, should not be done by him, who had his heart in it; but, if done at all, be effected by a cold state policy and a calculating expediency. There were the two devoted statesmen, the heat on fire all around them; and, not only the prey of their enraged associates here; but assured, on the very highest clerical authority, that their fate was a matter of certainty hereafter. The Duke bore it all with his constitutional imperturbability, so long as the attacks were of a purely public and political nature. Perhaps his chief annoyance arose from the pertinacity with which his opponents forced him, night after night, to make prematurely speeches on the proposed measure, ere it came in a formal way before the House; for this guerilla warfare interfered with his ideas of regularity and discipline; but all the rest he despised, as indeed he could well afford to do, being sure of the rectitude of his own motives.

At length, the Catholic Association having dissolved itself, the better to facilitate the purpose of Ministers, and the bill having come up to the Lords, it fell to the Duke of Wellington to propose it in that assembly. His speech on the occasion, as well as some previous ones, was masterly as a clear and unvarnished exposition of the reasons of State which had led to the conduct of the Government, and which justified it. Every argument that could be advanced, or that had been advanced, short of mere fanaticism, was thoroughly canvassed and met; in short, the Duke now came out in quite a new light. An orator, in the popular sense of the term, he never was and never could have been; but, as an exponent, in language clear and forcible "to the meanest capacity," of the plain common-sense view he himself took of the question, he stood alone. In this respect, indeed, his public speaking was unique. In fact, he had but one thing to impress on his auditory and the public—the absolute necessity of a concession which could not longer be delayed, and for which there then appeared to be no substitute. In the course of his many speeches at this time, he met one by one the charges against him; denying that the new bill was the result of fear; that he was guilty of

(Continued on page 262.)



PARISH CHURCH OF LARACOR, ADJOINING DANGAN CASTLE.

THE REAL BIRTH-PLACE OF THE DUKE.

AMONG all the columns that stand in honour of the great Duke, the pillar erected by the gentry of Meath, in their county town, Trim, is by far the most graceful and picturesque. This handsome memorial the gentlemen of the county of Meath raised in the fulness of their pride and the certainty of their faith, that he, whose very name is a sound of glorious victory, was born amongst them—that the old fortress of the Fitz-Eustaces, the Geraldines, and the Plunkets, had been the congenial birth-place of the hero. Are they wrong? Despite of all that has been said, we maintain they are not; for, on what depends the current story that contradicts them? Weak evidence and conjecture only. "The Duke was born at the Earl of Mornington's residence in Dublin," says one person, because he heard it from another person of some more weight than himself. This at best is that kind of proof called secondary evidence, so readily rejected by lawyers. Then comes the register of the baptism, which, oddly enough, shows that they who were so positive as to place, were at any rate wrong as to time. The Duke, they assert, was born in Dublin on the 1st of May, and they adduce a register which tells that he was baptised there on the 30th of April. Their very proof shows that he was not born in Dublin on the 1st of May. As to the weight, too, to be given to the register, Mr. Phillips, in his able work upon the law of evidence, says, "the register of itself does not prove the fact of birth in the parish," for one obvious reason, among others, viz. that it records the baptism and not the birth. The birth must have taken place before—where, the baptismal record does not say.

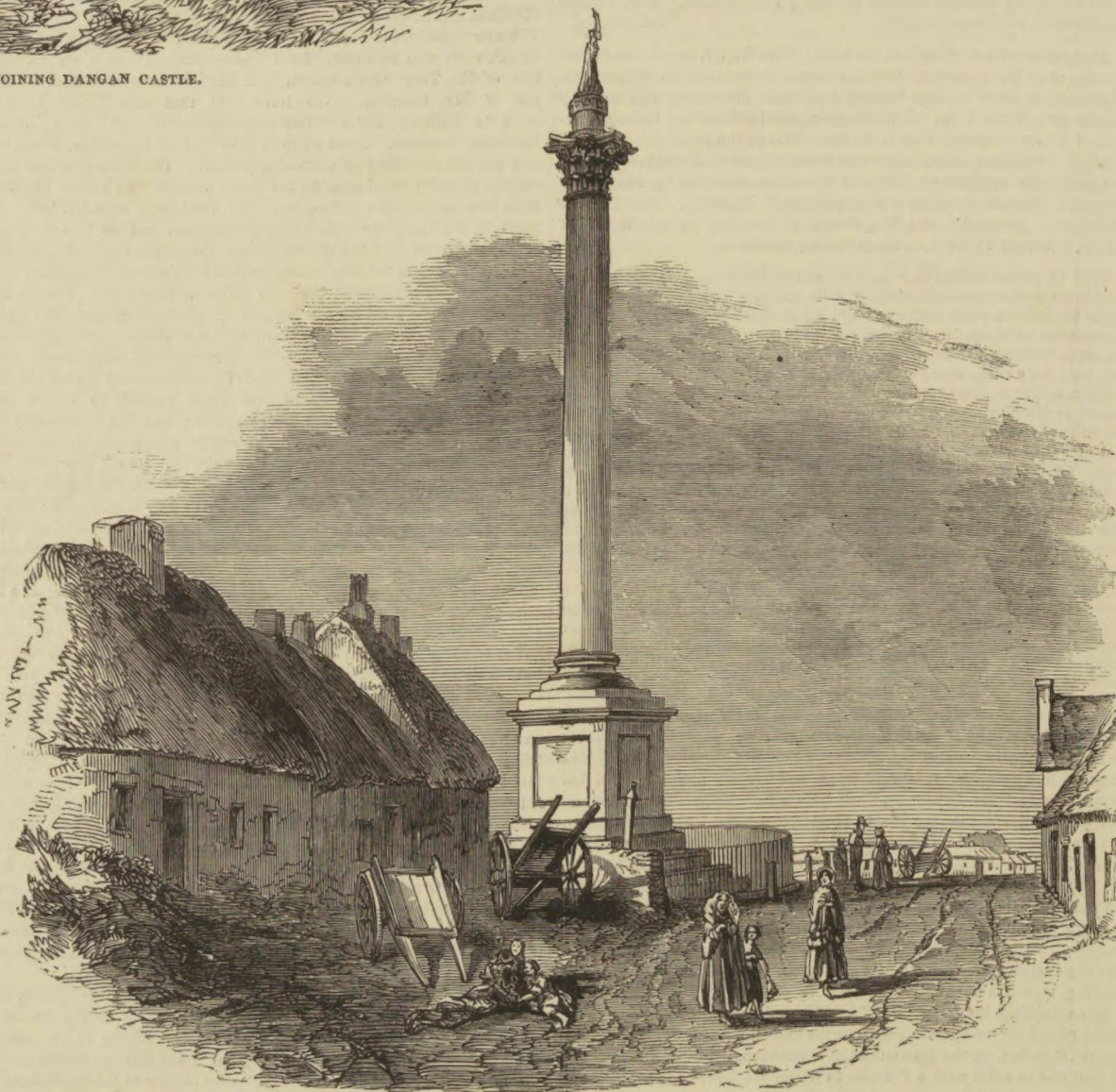
In the case of the Duke of Wellington, nothing is more possible or probable than that he was born in Dangan Castle, and taken some time afterwards, to the baptismal font in Dublin—a city at not twenty miles distance. This solution is confirmed by the general reputation positively pointing to Dangan; and be it observed, this testimony of general reputation (which the Column of Trim maintains with regard to the Duke) is admitted by Mr. Phillips in matters of pedigree. Lastly, the following evidence, suggested by a Mr. Ryan, of Dublin, would seem to set the much-mooted question beyond further doubt. Mr. Ryan says:—

A petition was presented towards the close of the year 1790, to the Irish House of Commons, which prayed that the return of the Hon. Arthur Wellesley for the borough of Trim should be deemed null and void, that hon. gentleman not having attained his majority before his election for the borough referred to. Same was, in the usual way, referred to a committee, before which the following testimony was given by a female of the name of Daly (if my memory from reading the report serves), who was produced to negative the averment on which the petition was founded:—"I remember having attended the Countess of Mornington during her *accouchement* in March, 1769, and was present in her Ladyship's room in Dangan Castle when the Hon. Arthur Wellesley was born; I do not remember the day of the month; he was, therefore, twenty-one years old last March." This, I fancy, is conclusive on this question; and any one sceptical upon the subject, may satisfy themselves by a reference to the report of the minutes of the proceedings of the Trim Election Petition, 1790-91. See Parliamentary Reports (Ireland) for that year.

Our feelings, we must confess, side with our proof, in according to this

old ruin of Dangan the honour of witnessing the Duke's birth. Time-honoured in itself, as the abode of warriors and statesmen, the decayed mansion has, in its environs, architectural relics and bygone associations which also recall great names. Meath was formerly a seat of Royalty; and Trim, its county town, situated on the historic Boyne, is a place of great antiquity, and boasts of many a ruin. King John's Castle, built by Hugh de Lacy, in 1173, to whom Henry II. granted Meath by Royal Charter, was here on the south side of the river, enclosed by strong walls, and turrets, with donjon and keep. King John, when in Ireland, passed some days in Trim; Richard II. committed the young Lords, Gloucester and Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry V., prisoners to the castle. Strange, indeed, is this fact alone, for those who pry into such circumstances, and think they do not consider too curiously to consider them. Their imagination may easily trace the warrior King, who fixed the eternal renown of Agincourt upon our annals, passing part of his youth and imbibing his military inspiration in the very scene of the juvenile years and the juvenile aspirations of him, who filled up the cup of British pride to the brim with Waterloo. Henry could there, with Tara near him, and the English fortresses about him, hear tales of Borohme and Strongbow. The river Boyne, as it flowed on, had other warlike recollections for the mind of Wellington. But, to return to Trim and its castle. Parliaments were summoned there in the years 1447, 1484, 1487, and 1491. There, too, in the reign of Edward II., Richard Earl of Ulster held his Court with great splendour. The ruins of this fine old castle, with the Boyne winding round its base, present a very imposing appearance. As the visitor approaches the town from one side, its unguarded battlements and lonely towers stand in sombre relief to the white cottages and modern buildings around.

From the top of the castle the view extends over several counties: at a short distance, the eye marks Tara, once the seat of Royalty and celebrated in song; and to the right the world-renowned spot where lie the ruins of Dangan. In Trim, at the castle's foot, is a small house where the Duke of Wellington's early education commenced; and, at a little distance, on the fair green of the town, rises the column of Corinthian order in memory of his fame. It is a very handsome pillar, and is surmounted by a bold full-length statue of the Duke, in



THE WELLINGTON COLUMN, AT TRIM.

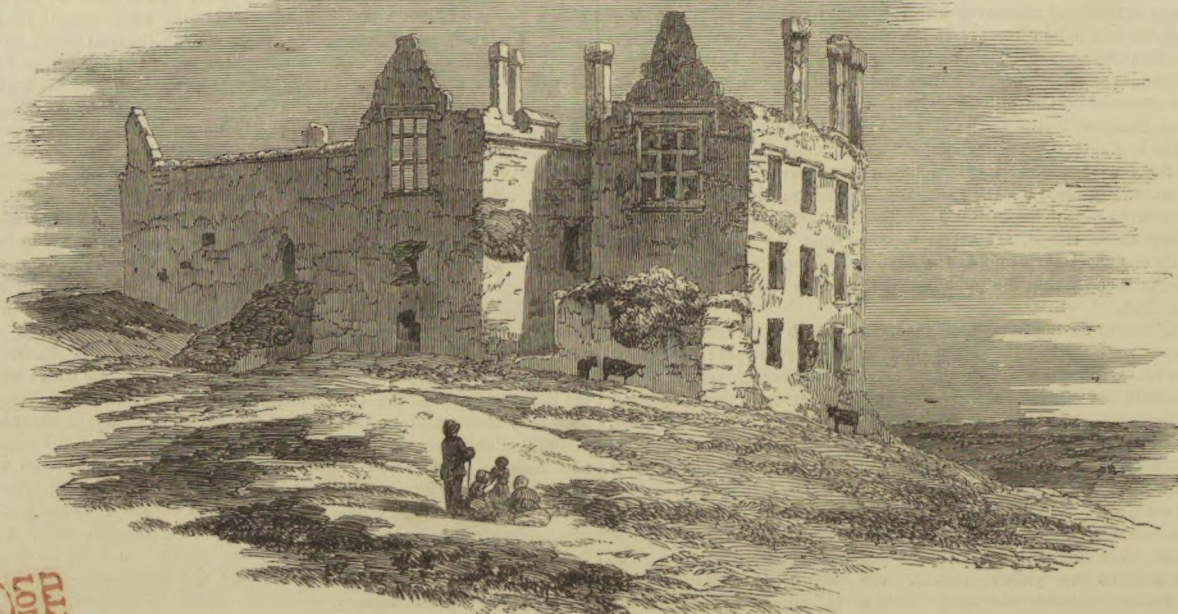
modern military dress. It would seem that until the one here presented no engraving of this monument has ever been made. The town of Trim, even more than most places in Ireland, is poor and neglected, there being no resident landlord to take an interest in its welfare. The beautiful pillar is encircled by wretched cabins, more like Indian huts than Christian dwellings. It stands, indeed, in strong contrast to the squalid misery around, as if to illustrate two striking characteristics connected with Ireland—the surpassing wretchedness of her people, and the surpassing genius that may be and has been discovered amongst them.

Desolation hangs for some miles about Trim and Dangan. Somerhill, the neighbouring mansion of the Lords Langford, is likewise a ruin. One tall thick wreck of a wall is all that remains of Dean Swift's house in his vicarage of Laracor, the parish in which Dangan is situated. The church of Laracor, of which a view is here given, still stands. It adjoins Dangan Castle: it used to be attended by the Wellesleys, and it, at this day, preserves—a fact now of additional interest—the hangings of the communion-table, the reading-desk, and the pulpit, the same as had been used in the private chapel of Dangan, and were removed to this church when the Wellesley family left. The Boyne, near the town, retains some few pretty seats of country gentlemen, such as that of the Drakes of Drakerath, Roriston. The handsome rectory in Trim was a favourite residence of Maria Edgeworth; and there still live her sister and her sister's husband, the antiquary, Dr. Butler, dean of Clonmacnoise, and rector of Trim. Beyond these few verdant spots, this part of Meath, so teeming with memories of the Duke, is sad and dreary to look at in its state of crumbling decay. Yet, while it can bring remembrances of Swift and of Miss Edgeworth, and while men can say of it, what we maintain is the truth, that "here Wellington was born," it will continue for ever as noted as any other of the greatest landmarks in the world.

CASTLECARBURY.

CASTLECARBURY, in Kildare, was for ages the seat of the Cowleys, or Colleys, the direct ancestors of the late Duke of Wellington. The last of the name who lived here appears to have been the Duke's grandfather, Richard Colley, Esq., who inherited the estate of Dangan from Garrett Wellesley, and consequently assumed the arms and name of Wellesley.

The first of the Colleys who lived at Carbury was Captain in the army of Elizabeth. The architectural features of the greater portion of the building clearly refer to his time, about A.D. 1548. A neighbouring

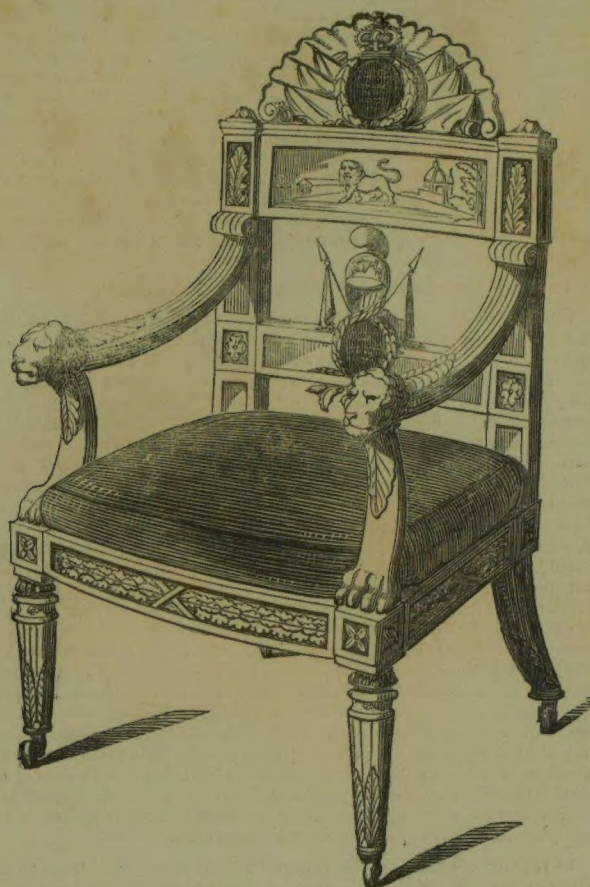


REMAINS OF CASTLE CARBURY, THE ANCIENT SEAT OF THE COWLEY.

chapel contains the tombstones of several of the Colley family. The Castle is one of the most imposing ruins in Ireland. From its summit a most magnificent view, extending over the counties of Dublin, Meath, Carlow, King's and Queen's County, and Kildare, may be obtained.

THE WELLINGTON CHAIR.

AMONG the many interesting memorials collected in the Guard-Chamber of Windsor Castle is the above Chair, made from part of the



THE "WELLINGTON CHAIR," IN THE GUARD CHAMBER, WINDSOR CASTLE.

elm-tree which stood near the centre of the British lines on the field of Waterloo. It has been very appropriately named "the Wellington Chair," and placed in proximity to a memorial of the great Nelson, on the right-hand, of the portion of the mast of the *Victory*.

BUST OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, BY MR. NOBLE.

(Engraved on the first page.)

THIS fine Bust was modelled by Mr. Matthew Noble, of Bruton-street, about six months since; the likeness is very striking, and as a proof of the extensive recognition of the merits of the work, we may state that Mr. Noble has already received commissions for upwards of 100 of this bust in marble and casting.

WELLINGTONIANA.

PRINCE ALBERT'S LAST VISIT TO THE DUKE.—On the occasion of her Majesty's recent visit to Belgium, her squadron having anchored for one night in the Downs, his Royal Highness the Prince Consort proceeded from the Royal yacht, in a small boat, to Walmer Castle, where the noble Duke was then staying. The illustrious veteran appeared highly pleased with this mark of attention, and received Prince Albert with much cordiality. They had a lengthened conversation together, after which the Prince left the Castle to join her Majesty in the *Victoria and Albert*. This meeting between those two distinguished personages, which was on the 17th of August, has proved to be the last.

THE DUKE'S LAST WILL.—The Duke of Wellington has left a will, though the contents of it as yet remain undisclosed. It is dated as far back as 1818, and was found late on Saturday night, at Coutts's bank. The existence of this document was, we believe, unknown even to those most nearly connected with the Duke, who, though of late years he had ordered several wills to be prepared, yet never could make up his mind to execute them. The Duke appears to have always avoided the subject of his own death, and the arrangements connected with it. Those who knew him best hardly ever remember to have heard him talk of such matters, and, in illustration of this feature in his character, a curious fact may be mentioned. Every one knows that he received, in the course of his long and distinguished life, many presents of immense value, and that Apsley House is filled with a great variety of objects, the interest attached to which can hardly be overrated. This collection, as personal property, was, of course, exposed to the risk of dispersion after the Duke's death, and, with a view to its preservation, an act of Parliament was obtained, enabling his Grace, within the space of two years, to make bequests of such objects as he wished to see inalienably attached to his title and estates. Singularly enough, it was not till the last day of the time thus granted that he signed the documents necessary to make the act available.

A TYPE OF CONSCIOUS DECAY IN THE LATE DUKE.—Upon the late occasion of the prorogation of Parliament by the Queen in person, his late Grace supported the State sword upon that occurrence, when a noble peer, perceiving that the Duke felt somewhat inconvenienced by the incumbrance, observed to the latter, "I fear, my Lord, that it must prove irksome to you to sustain the weight of that sword." "I do feel the weight of it sensibly," replied his Grace; "I am obliged to shift it from one position to another to ease myself of the burden: it really appears to me as heavy as a regimental firelock."

HIS LITERARY STYLE.—Much eulogy has been expended at various times, and by various writers, on the clearness and precision of the Duke's style in his military despatches. His Grace was too candid to have any false modesty; if he did not admire his own compositions, he approved them. After recently reading over some of his despatches as collected by Colonel Gurwood, he said, "Well, if these were to be written over again, I don't think I should alter a single word."

THE DUKE ON HORSEBACK.

THIS Portrait was sketched on the Duke's birthday, in 1842, by "H.B.," and has been copied by permission of Mr. M'Lean, print publisher, Haymarket. It is a very characteristic portrait of the Duke, as he appeared in our metropolitan rides half a score of years since.

WALMER CASTLE.

WALMER CASTLE, where the Duke of Wellington died, is just the sort of residence that would have been pointed out by an imaginative mind as appropriate to such an event. It is placed behind the high shingly beach which the incessant action of the waves has formed on this part of the coast, and is surrounded on the landward side by lofty trees. The modern windows opened in the thick old walls look as if its warlike uses had been laid aside for the peaceful times in which we

live. (See the large View at page 240.) There are, however, some heavy guns upon the upper walls pointed towards the Downs; and below, a battery of smaller pieces, that seem to include foreign invasion among contingencies. It was a place of strength built for rough work in stormy times. It has become a quiet sea-side residence, within earshot of the surf as it breaks upon the beach, and within sight of those essentially English objects, the chalk cliffs of Dover, the Goodwin Sands, and the shipping in the Downs. This was no unsuitable place for the Duke of Wellington to die in—that man in whose eventful history the largest experiences of military and civil life are so marvellously united.

We have Engraved the principal Entrance to the Castle, showing in the distance the corridor leading to the apartments. It is a covered way, lighted by a glass roof of the gable form. It runs between an outer and inner wall; the inner one, being of brick, is seen in the above Sketch, with geraniums in pots in front, and has a projection extending some way forward, which at noonday, when the Sketch was taken, throws a shadow upon the wall, the light striking full upon the pavement below. In this corridor the late Duke frequently walked during rainy weather. Visitors to the Castle alight at the second gate, close to the corridor.

We have also Engraved the Stables, the very last place the Duke visited out of doors, about five o'clock on the Monday evening previous to his death: he had been to the stables to see if any room could be found for another horse. The window over the tank is one in a small house inhabited by Townsend, an old Waterloo man; the wall beyond is the garden wall; passing the corner to the right, you come to the draw-bridge and principal entrance.

The room in which the Duke expired is of moderate size and plainly furnished; but everything neatly and methodically arranged, something like an officer's room in a garrison. On the right-hand side stands an ordinary iron camp bedstead, with a single horse-hair mattress, and a horse-hair pillow covered with leather, which the Duke usually carried with him and used in town. Summer or winter the little camp bedstead was without curtains. Here the Duke always slept and wrote, when at Walmer. Over the bedstead is a small collection of books, evidently selected for use. Among them are some of the best English writers of Anne's Augustan age, in poetry and prose—recent histories and biographies, some French memoirs, military reports, official publications, and Parliamentary papers. In the centre of the room is a mahogany table, well stained with ink, and covered with papers; and here for some hours every day the Duke sat and wrote. Near this is a more portable one, and contrived so as to be used for reading or writing while in bed. This, with two or three chairs,

comprises the whole; and it is sufficiently characteristic of the taste and habits of the illustrious deceased. The windows look out upon the Channel, and the view from the ramparts is very extensive, and, it may be added, magnificent. The prospect is unbroken, north and south, till it touches upon the massive and frowning battlements of Deal and Sandown Castles; directly in front it is only bounded by the French coast; while below stretch the Downs for some miles on either side, with its fleets of merchant vessels bound on their peaceful errands of commerce or enterprise. The unmistakable military character of the Duke is evident in the notices placed by his orders on many of the doors of the Castle, "Shut this door;" although it may be added that he never addressed a request to any of his personal attendants without saying "If you please" do this or that. A still more kindly and considerate memorial of his Grace might be seen upon his table in the shape of a number of small



PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE TO WALMER CASTLE.

slips of paper, on which were printed "Avoid to impose upon others the care of original papers which you wish to preserve." It is well known that the applications to the late Duke for advice and assistance were extremely numerous; and in many cases testimonials and original



THE STABLES AT WALMER.

documents were enclosed by the applicants, which the Duke, after making a memorandum of, invariably returned, accompanied by one of these significant cautionary notices.



Wellington

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS POLITICIAN AND CIVILIAN.

(Continued from page 259.)

inconsistency, inasmuch as he had never said otherwise than that emancipation was a question of expediency: affirming that it was promised at the Union; that in the then state of Ireland there existed no other remedy; and that there was no possible compact with Rome that could add to the security of the Protestant Church. It was in the course of his speech in moving the second reading of the Emancipation Bill that he made his celebrated declaration, that he "would sacrifice his life to avert one month of civil war." In the course of one of his subsequent speeches on the measure, too, he gave his well-known description of agitation in Ireland. "Agitation in Ireland," he said, "during the last ten years, means something just short of rebellion; that, and no other, is the exact meaning of the word. It is to place the country in that state in which its Government is utterly impracticable, except by means of an overawing military force." In the truth of this sentence lay the only justification of the bill in the eyes of a large section of the Tory party. It is interesting at the present time, too, to observe the view the Duke took of another question—the possible exercise by the Crown of a veto on the appointment of Catholic Bishops, or of a right of nomination. He said, "Suppose it were arranged that his Majesty should have the nomination of the Catholic Bishops. If he nominated them, he must also give them a jurisdiction; he must give them a diocese. I should like to know in what part of Ireland or England the King could fix upon a spot where he could, consistently with the oath he has taken, nominate a Catholic Bishop, or give him a diocese? The King is sworn to maintain the rights and privileges of the Bishops, and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge. Now, consistently with that oath, how could the King appoint a Bishop of the Roman Catholic religion; and would not the Established Church lose more than it gained by the assumption of such a power on the part of his Majesty?"

It is unnecessary to follow the Emancipation Act through the House of Lords. The Duke's influence was the main cause of its passing by a considerable majority. But some personal matters arose out of the discussions, which require to be mentioned in a biography. The Earl of Winchelsea wrote a letter, in such terms that the Duke of Wellington felt himself compelled to challenge him. He fired, and missed his antagonist; whereupon the Earl fired in the air: and having, by the result, found that the Duke was a bad shot, he immediately saw that he had been wrong from the first, and wrote a handsome letter of retraction. The Duke of Wellington was also obliged to direct the prosecution of Mr. Alexander, the editor of the *Morning Journal*, for libel on himself and Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord Chancellor. Mr. Alexander was found guilty and severely punished. Now that we can look back more calmly at these events, it must be admitted that the license assumed at that period by those organs of the press which were devoted to the service of the losing party, exceeded the privilege of free discussion. The Duke seems to have had an old grudge against the newspapers, and he did not miss so tempting an occasion to hand one of these over to the mercies of the public prosecutor. The punishment, however, that was inflicted on Mr. Alexander—that of twelve months imprisonment and heavy pecuniary fines—was excessively severe, considering to what extent the conduct of the Duke had excited the passions of the ultra-Tories, who not only felt the excitement of ordinary political strife, but also believed themselves to be engaged in a holy war—which, history tells us, is always held to justify what in ordinary cases honour and humanity recoil from.

The immediate result of the Emancipation Act was a violent schism in the Tory party. Those who prided themselves on their adherence to principle proclaimed their unalterable resolve never again to place confidence in such traitors as Wellington and Peel had proved themselves to be; nor was it long ere they translated their threats into acts, and created a precedent which was subsequently followed by Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli in 1846.

We now approach the era of Parliamentary Reform. The session of 1830 opened with the Duke of Wellington still at the head of affairs. He delivered, on the very first night, in the debate on the Address, an admirable speech, in which he combated with great success the complaints of the popular party as to the declining state of the country. The Whigs now saw an opening that might lead them into power, the Tory phalanx having been broken by the schism already alluded to. The Duke of Wellington was made the object of attack by Brougham, who bitterly satirized his tendency to dragoon and martinet the country; and Sir Francis Burdett, who at that time still clung to his popular associations, went so far as to say that the Duke had rightly estimated his own capacity when he had declared in the House of Lords that he would be "mad to think of being Prime Minister." Sir Francis Burdett also sufficiently forgot the civil as well as military services of the Duke of Wellington to declare that he had been treated with much tenderness and consideration on account of the services he had rendered his country: but if his services had been great, so, also, had been his rewards. This species of attack was not only ungracious and mean in spirit, but it also passed over the fact that a year had scarcely elapsed since the Duke had carried the greatest measure of freedom the century had known; and that, but for the vast influence he wielded through his services, he never could have overcome the prejudice of the King and the Tory aristocracy. During the whole of the first session of 1830 the Duke was the object of incessant attacks, not merely from his Whig opponents, but also from those Tories who conceived themselves to have been betrayed in the Emancipation Act.

The death of George IV. caused the summoning of a new Parliament which was opened by King William on the 2d of November. In the meantime the events of 1830 in France had produced their effect in England, in the shape of an overwhelming cry for Parliamentary Reform, and a strong development of the Democratic principle. The Whig leaders, but more especially Brougham, mounted with the occasion, until the nation began to believe that its salvation depended on the downfall of the Duke, and the appointment of a Reform Administration. He was held up to the people as purely a Military Dictator, importing into political affairs the manners and principles of the Horse Guards and the camp. Nor was he slow to respond to these challenges. After emancipation he had once more retired behind the lines of Toryism; and he offered only a stout and passive resistance to the new demands of the people. With a chivalrous courage, he declared against the necessity for any reform, and proclaimed that the existing House of Commons provided a sufficient representative machinery. Nay, if he had now to create a House of Commons anew, he would form it on the principle of giving the landed proprietors a preponderating influence. This bold, but needless, declaration became a torch in the hands of the Whigs, with which they set the country in a flame; so much so, that in three days after the Duke advised the new King not to go into the City to visit the Lord Mayor, lest there should arise some great riot and breach of the peace. Next came the defeat of Ministers in the Commons on the Civil List, their resignation on the following day, and the appointment of the Whig Administration under Earl Grey.

When the Reform Bill reached the House of Lords early in 1831, the Duke led the opposition to the measure, and in the course of his many speeches somewhat belied his reputation for perspicacity and sagacity. He denied that his anti-Reform declaration had caused the Reform fever, and predicted the most fatal evils to the country as the consequence of the measure proposed by the Whigs. More shrewd and statesmanlike was his celebrated question—"How," under the new

regime, "was the Government of this country—the Monarchical Government of this country—to be carried on, according to the principles and practice established at the Revolution?" The Duke was copious in prophecies of evil; among other things predicting the downfall of the Constitution, and the repeal of the Union with Ireland, as consequences of the Reform Bill.

The Duke's opposition was so stern and unqualified that it led to the rejection of the first bill by the House of Lords; when, in the course of the popular excitement that followed, he was personally insulted in this streets by a mob, and the windows of Apsley House were broken. This was, certainly, a disgrace to the English character; but it was, in after years, atoned for.

When, in the following year, the second Reform Bill reached the House of Lords, the Duke, in April, made one of his usual stout speeches against it; but, on the 7th of May following, Ministers having resigned on a defeat in committee, the Duke was called on by the King to form a Government on the principle of moderate Reform, as being the sole alternative except a large creation of Peers. The Duke's military habits induced him to give an immediate acquiescence, as, "if he had refused to assist his Majesty because he had hitherto given his opposition to Parliamentary Reform, he would not have been able to show his face in the streets for shame of having deserted his Sovereign in circumstances so painful and alarming." The proposed plan was frustrated by the refusal of Sir Robert Peel to attempt a measure of Reform: "To do so, being a determined enemy to a Reform Bill of the kind expected from him, would be a political immorality which would not allow him to enter on his services with a firm step, a light heart, and an erect attitude." Without the co-operation of the leader of the Tories in the House of Commons any such attempt would of course have been futile on the part of the Duke, who soon after gave a reluctant consent to the Whig measure.

During the two following years the Duke continued to lead the Opposition in the House of Lords. In November of that year, being suddenly called on by the King to form a Government, he advised Sir Robert Peel to be sent for from Italy. Pending his arrival, the Duke took, provisionally, the Premiership and the three Secretaryships of State. This monopoly of power furnished the chiefs of the ejected party with admirable materials for popular appeals. The most vigorous assailant of the Duke, on the re-assembling of Parliament, was Lord Brougham. He was also accused of personal discourtesy, and something very like treachery, towards Lord Melbourne; but all these charges being essentially of an ephemeral nature, and contradicted by the permanent facts, we need not further enter into them. Those who choose can do so, by reading a speech of the Duke in self-defence, made on the 24th of February, 1835.

The Duke of Wellington entirely concurred with Sir Robert Peel in opinion, that the new "Conservative" Ministry must at least make professions of Liberal intentions; nor perhaps did his Grace regret that there was an opportunity for once more reminding the nation that he was not an incorrigible despot. With the defeat and resignation of Sir Robert Peel, in April, 1835, the Duke of Wellington once more found himself the leader of the Conservative Opposition in the House of Lords; and now commenced what, to the political philosopher, will prove not the least interesting portion of his career: although, to the biographer, it furnishes no salient points. The violent oscillations of the public mind had now sufficiently subsided to enable the people to reflect on the Duke's career as a whole; an almost necessary consequence of which was, that he found himself once more exercising a moral influence proportionate to his great services. Between 1835 and 1841, when he again took office, he acted as a kind of moderator in political disputes, and a guide of public opinion. The Whigs, being, in their hearts, unwilling to go the full length of some of their ultra-supporters, were not sorry to throw the onus of non-success on the Duke of Wellington, so long as he and his party did not take any more active steps towards destroying their position. During one period, in the year 1839, he was, with Sir Robert Peel, called on to take office. He fully coincided with that statesman in resting his refusal on the ground that her Majesty declined to make changes in the personnel of her Court—that is to say, in respect of the ladies of the household. This was one of the instances, among many—such as his correspondence with Canning, and his ejection of Huskisson—in which the Duke permitted his political shrewdness to supersede the frankness and straightforwardness natural to him.

We have now brought to a close the purely official career of the Duke of Wellington, though not his political life. He continued to retain the command-in-chief of the army, but declined, although in after years a member of the Cabinet, to hold any portfolio. The office he had held in 1834-35 was that of Foreign Secretary; but no events occurred of sufficient importance to induce him to diverge materially from the policy of Lord Palmerston.

One of the most brilliant moments of the second career of the Duke was when, at the coronation of her Majesty, in 1837, he encountered his old antagonist Soult, sent by Louis Philippe as Ambassador Extraordinary on the occasion. At the dinner given by the Corporation of London to the distinguished foreigners in England on the occasion, those two illustrious chieftains exchanged mutual compliments and expressions of amity.

We have seen that the Duke, in his civil capacity, did not so much court office as that it was thrust upon him. He was probably sincere in his protest against being made Prime Minister; but both the Crown and the aristocracy had scented the coming storm, and saw that in the prestige of the Duke of Wellington lay their best chance of riding it out. Catholic Emancipation was an unexpected blow; but they lived to wish that the same moral courage and foresight which led the Duke to initiate that measure had also led him, in like manner, to force them into other political concessions. He, however, had learned a lesson which afterwards he did not forget.

In August, 1839, a banquet given to the Duke at Dover, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, brought his old antagonist Lord Brougham forth as his panegyrist:—

Although no man, said the noble and learned Lord, on such an occasion, is entitled to entertain any personal feelings on his own behalf, it would be affectation, it would be insolent ingratitude, were I not to express the sentiments which glow within my bosom, at being made the instrument of making known those feelings which reign predominant in yours. Enough, however, of myself; now for my mighty subject. But the choice you have made of your instrument—of your organ as it were on this occasion—is not unconnected with that subject; for it shows that on this day, on this occasion, all personal, all political feelings are quelled; all strife of party is hushed; that we are incapable, whatever be our opinions, of refusing to acknowledge transcendent merit, and of denying that we feel the irresistible impulse of unbounded gratitude; and I am, therefore, asked to do this service, as if to show that no difference of opinion upon subjects, however important; no long course of opposition, however contracted, upon public principles; not even long inveterate habits of public opposition, are able so far to stifle the natural feelings of our heart, so as to obscure our reason, as to prevent us from feeling, as we ought, boundless gratitude for boundless merit. Neither can it pluck from our minds that admiration proportioned to the transcendent genius, in peace and in war, of him who is amongst us to-day; nor can it lighten or alleviate the painful—the deep sense which the untired mind never can get rid of when it is overwhelmed by a debt of gratitude too boundless to be repaid. Party—the spirit of party—may do much; but it cannot operate so far as to make us forget those services; it cannot so far bewilder the memory, and pervert the judgment, and eradicate from our bosoms those feelings which do us the most honour, and are the most unavoidable, and, as it were, dry up the kindly juices of the heart; and, notwithstanding all its vile and malignant influence on this occasion, it cannot dry up those juices of the heart so as to parch it like very charcoal, and make it almost as black. But what else have I to do?

If I had all the eloquence of all the tongues ever attuned to speak, what else could I do? How could a thousand words, or all the names that could be named, speak so powerfully—aye, even if I spoke with the tongue of an angel—as I were to mention one word—Sir Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, the hero of a hundred fields, in all of which his banner was waved in triumph; who never—I invoke both hemispheres to witness—bear witness Europe, bear witness Asia—who never advanced but to cover his arms with glory; the Captain who never advanced but to be victorious; the mightier Captain, who never retreated but to eclipse the glory of his advance by the yet harder task of unwearied patience, indomitable to lassitude—the inexhaustible resources of transcendent skill; showing the wonders, the marvels of a moral courage never yet subdued. Despising all who thwarted him with ill-considered advice, neglecting all hostility, so he knew it to be groundless; laughing to scorn reviling enemies, jealous competitors, lukewarm friends—aye, hardest of all, to neglect despising even a fickle public, he cast his eye forward as a man might, else he deserves not to command men—cast forward his eye to a time when that momentary fickleness of the people would pass away, knowing that in the end the people are always just to merit.

To this oration, the Duke of Wellington thus responded:—

The noble Lord, who I hope will allow me to call him my noble friend, has stated to you with great truth, that there are times and circumstances in which, and under which, all feelings of party, all party animosity, all description of political feelings, must be laid aside. I must do my noble and learned friend the justice to say, that for years and years there has been nothing of that description in social life as between him and me, notwithstanding which it is certainly true that I have had the misfortune of differing in opinion with my noble and learned friend upon many points of internal and possibly of other descriptions of policy. But I am afraid that, notwithstanding my most anxious wish to co-operate with all of you in the public service in which we have all been employed, I may happen (I know it does happen) to differ with some of you upon subjects of political interest to the country. But my noble and learned friend judges of you correctly when he says that such feelings of difference would not prevent you, as they have not prevented you from doing me, the honour of inviting me to this festival, and of bringing here to meet me not only the whole of this interesting country, but persons from all parts of the kingdom, and even from abroad. Therefore, my noble and learned friend does you as well as himself justice, when he states that there are occasions—occasions in relation to individuals as well as in relation to public interests and services—in which all feelings of party politics and opinions must be laid aside, in order to carry on the public service to the greatest point of advantage to the public interest. I have had sufficient experience in public life to know that this must be the case. I am convinced that it is that feeling which has induced you to pay this tribute of respect to the person holding the situation of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, in order that you might encourage others hereafter to perform their duty honestly and conscientiously in the same honourable office.

In 1841, on the return of Sir Robert Peel to power, the Duke aided him as a kind of consulting member of the Cabinet, supporting him in all his plans of Commercial Reform. When at last the crisis of 1845 arrived, when the combined influence of the Anti-Corn-Law Association and the apprehended famine in Ireland led Sir Robert Peel to resolve on finally abolishing the Protective Duty, the Duke of Wellington remembered the great terrors of 1822 and 1830, and gave him a cordial aid. We need not here enter into the details of those proceedings, inasmuch as the Duke was not the most prominent actor; but his influence in the Upper House gave Mr. Disraeli the occasion to refer to him, in one of his sarcastic attacks on Sir Robert Peel, as having "dragooned" the Peers into obedience. This was scarcely true, because the Duke exercised a moral influence only over the members of the House of Lords. When, in 1848, London was threatened with a Chartist insurrection, the Duke organised the defence of the metropolis with a marvellous celerity. His alacrity and avidity, as the old war-horse springs again at the sound of the trumpet, were much quizzed after the danger was over; but when we consider the peculiar circumstances of Europe at the time, it must be admitted that precaution was at least the better part of valour and wisdom.

Lord Stanley having moved an amendment to the Address, in reply to the Royal Speech delivered on the re-assembling of Parliament in February, 1849, the noble Duke spoke in support of the Address, confining himself principally to foreign affairs. Lord Brougham had made one of his fierce onslaughts upon the Government, and the noble Duke began with a compliment to his noble and learned friend. He greatly admired, he said, the speech of the noble and learned Lord, who was the person in that House most capable of appreciating that state of affairs on the Continent which rendered it exceedingly difficult for this country to give efficient aid in maintaining the peace of Europe. He certainly was not able to estimate those difficulties with the same local knowledge which his noble and learned friend possessed; but he had always been sensible of the extreme delicacy and difficulty attending the situation of public affairs on the Continent of Europe during the whole of the year 1848; and he had always been anxious that nothing should be done to throw the smallest difficulty or impediment in the way of the Government carrying on our foreign relations, or that any steps should be taken which could give occasion for the smallest grounds for the belief that the Government was not supported by the public opinion of this country. The noble Lord (Beaumont) had expressed a strong opinion respecting Naples and Sicily; and he (the Duke of Wellington) was anxious to move, in that house, for this production of certain documents which he had not found amongst the parliamentary papers connected with that question. He alluded to the declarations made by the King of Naples when he acceded to the Treaty of Vienna. It was true that, at first, he was not *de facto* King of Naples; he was at that time King of the Two Sicilies. Bonaparte had military position of Naples, and had made his brother King of Naples. But he was recognised by this country as King of the Two Sicilies, and it was in that quality that he made his treaty with his late Majesty George III. After his Majesty had obtained possession of his throne of the Two Sicilies, he had accepted of the Treaty of Vienna. Now his Majesty and this country were as much bound by that acceptance, as by any other portion the Treaty of Vienna. But he did not think it desirable to discuss these questions in the absence of the necessary documents; and the noble Duke, with an eye to the prejudicial effect which such a proceeding would produce, entreated their Lordships not to let it go forth to the people of this country, and to the people of foreign countries, that an amendment and a division had taken place in the House of Lords on the subject of our foreign relations. On the 6th of March following, the noble Duke repeated his views with respect to the obligation resting on the King of Naples to observe the Treaty of Vienna.

The Marquis of Lansdowne's motion for a public vote of thanks to the Governor-General of India (Lord Dalhousie), the Commander-in-Chief, and the officers of the army of India, on account of the military operations in the Punjab, gave the noble Duke an opportunity for graphically sketching the siege of Mooltan, for bearing his personal testimony to the perils attending Indian warfare, and for eulogising the skill and courage evinced by the British army during the late war. "My Lords," he said, "it has fallen to my lot to know, and to have to consider, the great difficulties under which this war has been conducted. And, my Lords, I must say that in no case have I seen stronger instances of good conduct than in carrying on the operations of which it is now proposed to your Lordships to pronounce your approbation. My Lords, this war originated in the dishonour, perfidy, and faithlessness of the servants and officers of the native Government of Lahore. The Governor-General, being, under the articles of the treaty, the guardian of the infant Maharajah of the Punjab, was bound by this treaty to control the acts of his Government, and to give his assistance in carrying on its operations. My Lords, all the officers of the Lahore Government betrayed their trust. As the noble Lord has stated, Dewan Moolraj, the Governor of Mooltan and of the country under the subjection of that fortress, betrayed his trust, and refused to deliver the command to the officers sent to relieve him, and murdered the two gentlemen sent by the British Resident in order to superintend the delivery of the fortress to the officers selected by the Maharajah, under the superintendence of the British Resident, to take the command. This act of treachery and in-

subordination was followed by the revolt of the whole country in the neighbourhood of Mooltan; and, my Lords, it was followed, by degrees, one after another, by the treacherous revolt and insurrection of all parts of that country—by the revolt of no less than three other fortresses, all of which refused to obey the orders of this Government; the troops being in a state of mutiny and insurrection; all of which had to be got the better of at the same moment. And all this, my Lords, occurred at a season of the year during which it was utterly impossible to put in the field any European troops; it was, indeed, scarcely possible to keep the native troops in the field. But, my Lords, by the care and attention of the Governor-General and the officers of the British Government, and of the Commander-in-Chief and officers of the army, a body of men was by degrees collected; and that force was attended and assisted by a body of artillery, and sent to Mooltan, which place had been previously invested. Another force was sent to the Punjab, to aid and support the garrisoned place of Lahore and the other places within the Sikh territory under treaty. My Lords, the siege of Mooltan could not be commenced until the month of September, notwithstanding that the original atrocities of the murder of the two officers mentioned by the noble Marquis occurred on the 19th of April. But the ground was broken on the 7th September. On the 14th of September, after a good deal of progress had been made in the siege, after a gallant attack made in order to lodge the troops in a certain portion of the town, which it was necessary for them to occupy in order to carry on the siege with advantage; it was found necessary to raise the siege and withdraw the army to a certain distance until reinforcements could be received, because the Sikh army, under the chief who has been since combating with the Indian army, had revolted and gone over to the enemy. It was on the 14th of September when the siege was raised; but the care of the Governor-General, and the generals and officers in command of the troops in the different portions of the country, had provided measures for bringing troops from all parts to the great undertaking of pacifying the country under these circumstances. A force was sent up from Bombay, and arrived at Mooltan on the 26th of September. On the very next day the city of Mooltan was attacked by General Whish, and the troops who had arrived under the command of General Dundas, and these Bombay troops carried some of the works that defended the city, and took possession of parts of that town. * * * While this siege was going on the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief had formed a force to cover the besieging army, and keep the country in tranquillity, which was generally in a state of insurrection; and also to observe the movements of those large bodies of troops which were collected on the frontier, and prevent them from disturbing the operations of the siege. The Commander-in-Chief, my Lord Gough, put himself at the head of the covering army, and had to fight those actions to which the noble Marquis has adverted, and which he did with uniform success in each of them; though, no doubt, loss was sustained in some of those actions. But, with regard to Mooltan, when it is recollected that this strong place was provided with arms, and that, without conditions, it surrendered on capitulation when the breaches were opened, and the storming parties were preparing to attack those breaches; and that this place fell into our hands without loss, I think it may be set down that, as a whole, the service was effected with smaller loss than could have been expected under any circumstances. The noble Duke took this opportunity of extenuating the temporary retreat of the 14th Dragoons. He did so in these words:—"My Lords, it is impossible to describe to you the variety of circumstances which may occasion mistake or disarrangement during an engagement in the operations of any particular force at any particular moment. An inquiry into these circumstances has been instituted, and I have seen the report of that inquiry. It happens that these cavalry had to conduct their operations over a country much broken by ravines and rough jungles, which rendered it impossible for the troops to move in their usual regular order. It happened that the officer commanding the brigade of which this corps formed a part, was wounded in the head during the advance, and was obliged to quit the field. The officer next in command, being at a distance from the spot, was not aware that his commanding officer was obliged to withdraw from the field. Under these circumstances, the word of command was given by some person not authorised, and of whom no trace can be found; and some confusion took place, which, from the crowd, and the circumstances of the moment, could not easily be remedied. But it was removed at last, and all were got in order, and the corps successfully performed its duty, as I and other noble Lords around me have seen them perform it on other occasions. My Lords, these things may happen to any troops; but we whose fortune it has been to see similar engagements in the field, feel what must be felt by all your Lordships—that the character of a corps must not be taken from them from scraps in the newspapers; but the facts must be sought in the report of the Commander-in-Chief, and in the inquiry made by the proper parties; an inquiry very different to that made by the publishers of newspapers. The order was made; and it needs no one to be informed that a movement in retreat is not a movement in advance; but your Lordships may be convinced, as I myself am, that the movement in retreat was one of those accidents which must occur occasionally, and that the corps to which it happened are as worthy of confidence then as they have been since, as they were before, and as I hope they always will be." His Grace, in the course of this speech, which he delivered with that peculiar energy which characterised him when dealing with military exploits, complimented Major Edwardes and other officers upon the services rendered to her Majesty.

On the 24th of July following, the noble Duke moved the second reading of the Regimental Benefit Societies Bill, briefly explaining its provisions; and two days afterwards we find him opposing the Railways Abandonment Bill, on the ground that it would in effect repeal that vast number of Acts of Parliament which had been passed during the last few sessions, which involved the outlay of millions of money, and the interests of millions of persons; and that it would wipe away the whole of the property which had been invested on the faith of those Acts of Parliament. It may be remembered that the object of this bill was to enable railway companies to abandon any portion of their undertaking by means of a cheaper process than that which at that time existed. On the same day his Grace, speaking in his capacity of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, opposed at some length the Pilotage Bill, on its second reading being moved by Lord Granville, principally on the ground that it was calculated to put down the fellowship of pilots, who had hitherto contributed to the safety and usefulness of our navigation.

A question addressed by the Duke of Richmond to the Government, on Feb. 21, 1850, relative to the further extension of medals to the army and navy, elicited from the Duke of Wellington his views as to the principle on which the proposed distinctions should be conferred. It had been stated, he said, that the army in the Peninsula had not been treated in the same manner as the army in Flanders, and as other armies which had served in China, and in the East Indies, and elsewhere. It appeared to him that the plan which would be most in conformity with the wishes of those who made the former applications, and which would be most calculated to gratify all parties, was to grant a medal to all those engaged in those great actions and achievements, which, by order of the Sovereign, had been commemorated by the grant of medals to the principal officers engaged in those battles. On that ground he had recommended the principle which was subsequently adopted, and which, he believed, had given general satisfaction. Whether that principle should be extended further was for the consideration of her Majesty's Government. All he could say was, that whenever he should receive her Majesty's orders for such an extension, he would set to work to carry it into execution with the utmost diligence. In the following March his Grace opposed the Party Processions (Ireland) Bill, on the ground that it was not sufficiently stringent; and he urged upon the Government the adoption of a clause empowering the local magistrates to apprehend those persons who should appear with firearms at funeral processions in Ireland. The clause, which it had been arranged should be brought up on the third reading, was not subsequently pressed; the noble Duke alleging as a reason that he did not wish to delay the passage of the bill in the Lower House.

Lord Brougham having addressed a question to the Marquis of Lansdowne with reference to the proposed commission to inquire into the state of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in the course of which he said he believed that his noble friend (the Duke of Wellington), the Chancellor of Oxford, and his noble and learned friend (Lord Lyndhurst), the High Steward of Cambridge, both concurred with him in deprecating any rash and inconsiderate interference with the Universities; the Duke of Wellington rose, and declared that the University of Oxford was most anxious to introduce every improvement which was desirable into the system of education adopted in that ancient seat of learning. * * * But that which the University of Oxford could not do, and which it would not be induced by any consideration to do, was this—it would not repeal the statutes by which the different colleges of that University were governed. Various portions of the inhabitants of this country—some living in its towns and others in its rural districts; various young persons, now receiving their education in different schools, enjoyed important rights

under the separate statutes of the separate colleges. The body to which he had the honour to belong—namely the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, and the governing bodies of the several colleges—was bound to respect, and maintain, and carry into execution the statutes of the several colleges, and he expressed a hope that these bodies would not be required to submit to an inquiry directly tending to the repeal of those statutes, which the law of the land desired them to carry into execution for the benefit of the individuals who claimed rights and privileges under them. There appeared to him to be a tendency to institute an inquiry of the nature which he had described—an inquiry which, if instituted, would seriously effect some of the most loyal subjects of her Majesty, who might be placed in a situation of the greatest difficulty, as they would have to decide between their duty of obedience to her Majesty's commands, and the duty and respect which they owed to the execution of the law.

His Grace raised a warning voice on the subject of the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, and pitifully exposed the inconvenience to which, in troubled periods, the withdrawal of the central authority would give rise. Having dwelt upon the intimate relations which in recent times have been kept up between the civil and military authorities, his Grace remarked, "Withdraw the Lord-Lieutenant from Ireland, and who become the chief civil authorities in different parts of the country? In Dublin, the chief civil authority would be the Lord Mayor. Now, I think that in less than three months after the adoption of the measure to put down the monster meetings in Ireland, I had the honour of attending her Majesty at Court, and there I saw Mr. O'Connell, as Lord Mayor of Dublin, followed by some of his suite, presenting an address to her Majesty on the throne. Now, will any one say that the military authorities would have ventured to concert any military operations with the then Lord Mayor, elected by the democratic corporation, created by a recent act of Parliament? I will take another case. I had afterwards to provide against barricades in the streets of Dublin, to take measures for attacking them, if they should be formed, and to secure the free passage of the streets. For this purpose it was necessary to have confidential communications with the Secretary of State here, and with the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Could I have ventured to do so with the Lord Mayor of Dublin? Could I have written a line on the subject without ordering the Commander-in-Chief on the spot in Dublin to take care that the Lord Mayor and the gentlemen of the corporation of Dublin should know nothing about the matter? I will give you another instance. * * * It was necessary, some time ago, to carry on military operations in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny. Who was the elected Mayor there at that time? Dr. Cane. And what became of Dr. Cane? Why, before the operations at Kilkenny were over, he was in prison, under the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. And yet such was the gentleman with whom the general officer, carrying on his operations with his troops, must have consulted, in the absence of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland!"

Of the many eulogies which the character of the late Sir Robert Peel received within the walls of Parliament, on the receipt of the tidings of his death, the short, but pregnant testimony borne to his worth by the Duke of Wellington was not the least remarkable. The Marquis of Lansdowne and Lords Stanley and Brougham had paid eloquent and touching tributes to the memory of the deceased statesman, when the noble and gallant Duke rose to take his share in the mournful ceremony. His feelings so overcame him, that it was some time ere he could acquire the command of speech, and the words we now quote were uttered at such lengthened intervals that the effort to articulate was painfully apparent. "My Lords," at last gasped the old warrior, "I rise to give expression to the satisfaction with which I have heard this conversation on the part of your Lordships, both on the part of those noble Lords who were opposed to Sir Robert Peel during the whole course of their political lives, and on the part of those noble friends of mine who have been opposed to him only lately. Your Lordships must all feel the high and honorable character of the late Sir Robert Peel. I was long connected with him in public life. We were both in the councils of our Sovereign together, and I had long the honour to enjoy his private friendship. In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel, I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more inviolable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communication with him, I never knew an instance in which he did not show the strongest attachment to truth; and I never saw in the whole course of my life the smallest reason for suspecting that he stated anything which he did not firmly believe to be the fact. My Lords, I could not let this conversation close without stating that which I believe to have been the strongest characteristic feature of his character. I again repeat to you, my Lords, my satisfaction at hearing the sentiments of regret which you have expressed for his loss." This speech produced a marked sensation amongst the Peers.

In the brief debate originated by Lord Torrington on the affairs of Ceylon, the Duke of Wellington made a few remarks upon the subject of martial law. Martial law, he contended, was neither more nor less than the will of the general who commands the army. In fact, martial law meant no law at all. Therefore, the general who declared martial law, and commanded that it should be carried into execution, was bound distinctly to lay down the rules and regulations and limits, according to which his will was to be carried out. Now he had in another country carried out martial law; that was to say, that he had governed a large portion of the population of a country by his own will. But then what did he do? He declared that the country should be governed according to its own national laws, and he carried into execution that will. He governed the country strictly by the laws of the country; and he governed it with such moderation, he must say, that political servants or judges who had at first fled or had been expelled, afterwards consented to act under his directions.

We next find the illustrious Duke supporting the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill. In the course of his speech he expressed his regret at the failure of the Catholic Relief Bill, which he had himself pressed upon the adoption of Parliament. "My Lords," he said, "I cannot concur in the proposition of my noble friend (Aberdeen), that the bill shall be read a second time this day six months. Circumstances have occurred which render it impossible for you to return to the position in which you stood before this act of the Pope was committed. The object of the passing of the Relief Act was to repeal all the laws adopted against the Roman Catholics, first at the Reformation; next, at the time of what was called the Popish Plot; and, thirdly, in consequence of the Popish reign of James II. and the war of succession in Ireland, out of which, and its consequences, grew all the penal enactments against Catholics in that country. It was, I say, the object of the Relief Act to get rid of these altogether. But those who brought forward that act—those who urged your Lordships and the other House to support it—repeatedly stated that nothing therein touched the laws on which the Reformation was founded. That was cautiously avoided. When we, the authors and promoters of the Relief Act, were charged with having touched the Reformation, we distinctly proved the contrary, and showed that we had done nothing to affect the laws by which the Reformation was established in this country. In 1846, however, in the reign of the present Queen, certain old statutes were repealed, and among them one relating to the introduction of bulls into this country. If the law had not been repealed, it would have been impossible that the act of the Pope could have taken effect; and, consequently, all fresh legislation would have been unnecessary. Cardinal Wiseman would not have dared to have come to England and published the Pope's bull or rescript establishing the new hierarchy. The thing was impossible; it could not have happened. Under these circumstances, I say you cannot return to the position in which you stood when the Relief Act was passed, or before the act of 1846 passed, which repealed the penalties attaching to all the acts with which it dealt, but left the acts themselves standing as misdemeanours. The legislation on this subject stands in this state—that misdemeanours may be committed, but cannot be punished. Under these circumstances, I say you cannot stand on the Relief Act, but must pass a measure to meet the particular act of the Pope complained of, and to prevent the repetition of such acts in future. I have no desire to infringe the religious privileges of the Roman Catholics; on the contrary, I wish them to enjoy every means of following their religion with perfect freedom. I would wish to make no alteration in the Relief Act, but I do not see how this measure can be avoided. I confess I view without apprehension the effect which this measure may have in Ireland. We have had a good deal of experience of the effect produced in Ireland by measures passed by the Legislature. There was the Relief Act. A great deal was expected from that, and it was said that it would put an end to agitation in Ireland for ever. But in the very year, nay, I believe, almost in the very month, in which it became the law of the land, Irish agitation commenced. How often, since then, has the Crown, from time to time, had occasion to complain of agitation in Ireland? How often has the Crown come to demand additional powers for the purpose of putting down the agitation, or worse than agitation, existing in that

country, the Relief Act notwithstanding? My advice to your Lordships is to do that which is just and necessary to maintain the power and prerogative of the Crown, and to protect the subjects of this country, and no more; and you may rely on it you will have the support and good wishes of the loyal people of Ireland, as well as of this country."

In the ensuing session, in February, upon the motion that the Address in answer to the Royal Speech should be inserted upon the Lords' Journals, the noble Duke took the opportunity of expressing his sense of the services of General Sir Harry Smith, lately in command at the Cape. The question of the fitness or unfitness of Sir Harry for command in such irregular and savage warfare, had long been made the subject of angry dispute; but the noble Duke at once pronounced in favour of the tactics employed by Sir Harry, and spoke with more than his wonted energy in his defence. "Sir Harry Smith," he said, "is an officer who, from his high reputation in the service, ought not to require any commendation from me; but having filled a high command in several important military operations long before carried on under his direction, and having now been recalled by her Majesty's Government, it is but justice to him to say that I, who am his commanding officer, though at a great distance, entirely approve of all his operations, of the orders which he has given to his troops, and of the arrangements which he has made for their success. * * * My firm belief is that everything has been done by the commanding general of the forces and the other officers, in order to carry into execution the instructions of her Majesty's Government."

The projectile inventions of Captain Warner having been made the subject of a motion by Earl Talbot in the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington, who was of opinion that the matter had already been sufficiently investigated, or, at all events, that a committee of lay Peers could elicit nothing beyond the facts brought out by the inquiries of the Board of Ordnance, moved, on the 21st of May, that an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty would be pleased to give directions that there be laid before the House of Lords copies or extracts of any report made to the Master-General of the Ordnance on the subject of Mr. Warner's inventions, and supported the motion on the grounds we have set forth.

Almost the last speech of the venerable Duke was in support of the Militia Bill. His Grace spoke with difficulty, and the long pauses between his sentences, and sometimes between the very words, betrayed the effort it required to proceed. But, as ever, his remarks were fully to the point. He asserted that the addition of the militia now proposed to be enrolled, would not swell our peace establishment to more than its fair constitutional proportions, and that our peace establishment ought to have been augmented long before. "We have never," he observed, "up to this moment, maintained a peace establishment—that is the real truth. And I say that we are now in that situation that it is necessary for us to form an establishment such as this country always has had up to this moment, a regular peace establishment founded upon a militia. * * * The noble Marquis (Lansdowne) states that he would prefer an army of reserve. An army of reserve! what is an army of reserve? Is it an army that costs less than £40 a man all round? If the noble Marquis thinks that it is possible, I tell him it is impossible. He can have no such thing." After expressing approval of the services performed by the volunteer corps during the last European war, his Grace thus concluded:—"My Lords, I say, however much I admire disciplined troops, and more especially British troops, I must tell you, you must not suppose that others cannot compete with them. And I have no doubt that if you commence the formation of a corps under this Act of Parliament, it will in time become what the former militia was; and if it ever become what your former militia was, you may rely upon it for performing all the service that they will ever be required to perform for the safety of the country. My Lords, I recommend you to adopt this measure as a commencement for the completion of your peace establishment. It will give you a constitutional force—it will give you a force that may not do all you desire at once, but by degrees it will become what you want—an auxiliary force to your army."

On the 23rd June his Grace moved an humble address to her Majesty for a copy of an order with respect to the transmission of reinforcements to the Cape, &c. This was his final public act within the walls of the House of Lords, if we except his attendance (and as was his wont, he was among the "earliest of the arrivals") at the ceremony of the prorogation of Parliament on the 2d July.

In reviewing the main events of the Duke of Wellington's career as a politician, the conclusion is almost forced upon us that, although his name is associated with two of the greatest legislative changes in our era, it was never as a voluntary agent that he made concessions to the popular wishes. He imported into the peaceful struggles of Parliament the tactics of war; always fighting to the last in defence of every position, and only abandoning it when he found it no longer tenable. In the instance of Catholic Emancipation, this was avowedly the case: in the repeal of the Corn Laws we may infer that he pursued the same course, because up to a very recent period before the passing of that measure he had emphatically declared his belief that "the Corn Laws could not be repealed without peril to the country." On the other hand, he conferred one great benefit on the English nation by teaching the privileged aristocracy when to yield. It is scarcely too much to say, that, without the sanction of his high authority, the foresight of Sir Robert Peel would not have sufficed to carry the Catholic question; indeed, there is proof of this in the care and anxiety of the distinguished commoner to set before the Duke, in a full and confidential correspondence, all the reasons for a settlement, during the autumn of 1828. Nor could his arguments have prevailed with a less practical mind than that of the Duke. If, in the case of Corn-law Repeal, the Premier of 1845 again took the initiative in proposing a change, it was, perhaps, less on account of the right attaching to his station than that he felt the necessity of offering to the Duke solid inducements of statesmanship ere he could expect him to abandon the existing law. Accustomed as we now are to find public opinion immediately responded to by statesmen, we must, in doing justice to the Duke of Wellington, remember that he was by temperament and ingrained habit a Tory, and constitutionally indisposed to yield. We must also bear in mind the character of the Tory aristocracy a quarter of a century ago, and the difficulty of inducing them to listen to any views which were not enforced by their own apprehensions of danger, and their respect for authority. On the other hand, the extreme positiveness of the Duke's character, his inflexibility, his common-sense, much augmented his authority; because it was felt that, if he called on his friends to yield, it must be that there was no longer any hope of successful resistance. Thus the very defects of his character became turned into benefits so soon as he was put in motion for great popular or national purposes.

It has been well remarked that he always knew what was best to be done at the right moment. This was an advantage derived from his military habits. While in command of armies he had often added to his military duties a civil administration; or, if not an administration, an imperious necessity to interfere, with advice and authority, in the political affairs of foreign nations; thus he was half a statesman ere he became a Minister; and if, in the course of his domestic government at home he sometimes too easily remembered his habits of military command, his errors were more than atoned for by the qualities of the statesman and the civil administrator, developed during his career in India, in the Peninsula, and even in France. To foreigners generally, our admiration of his character seems excessive; but it is because foreigners rarely are competent to appreciate the patience, self-denial, probity, and almost plodding perseverance which were the great agents of his success. They will at least admit that there has seldom been a great Captain who has exhibited less of the arrogance of the conqueror, or who more rigidly observed the laws of justice and moderation in the hour of victory. In his political career similar influences prevailed in his conduct. From the moment that he had abandoned a legislative principle, or carried a measure, he forgot the asperities of the strife, and accepted the new with the same frankness of loyalty that had led him to hold on by the old. If he saved the nation by his military triumphs, he still more signally served it, and saved its institutions, by teaching, in precept and example, the duty of caring for the public wants, and the necessity of conceding to the public will.

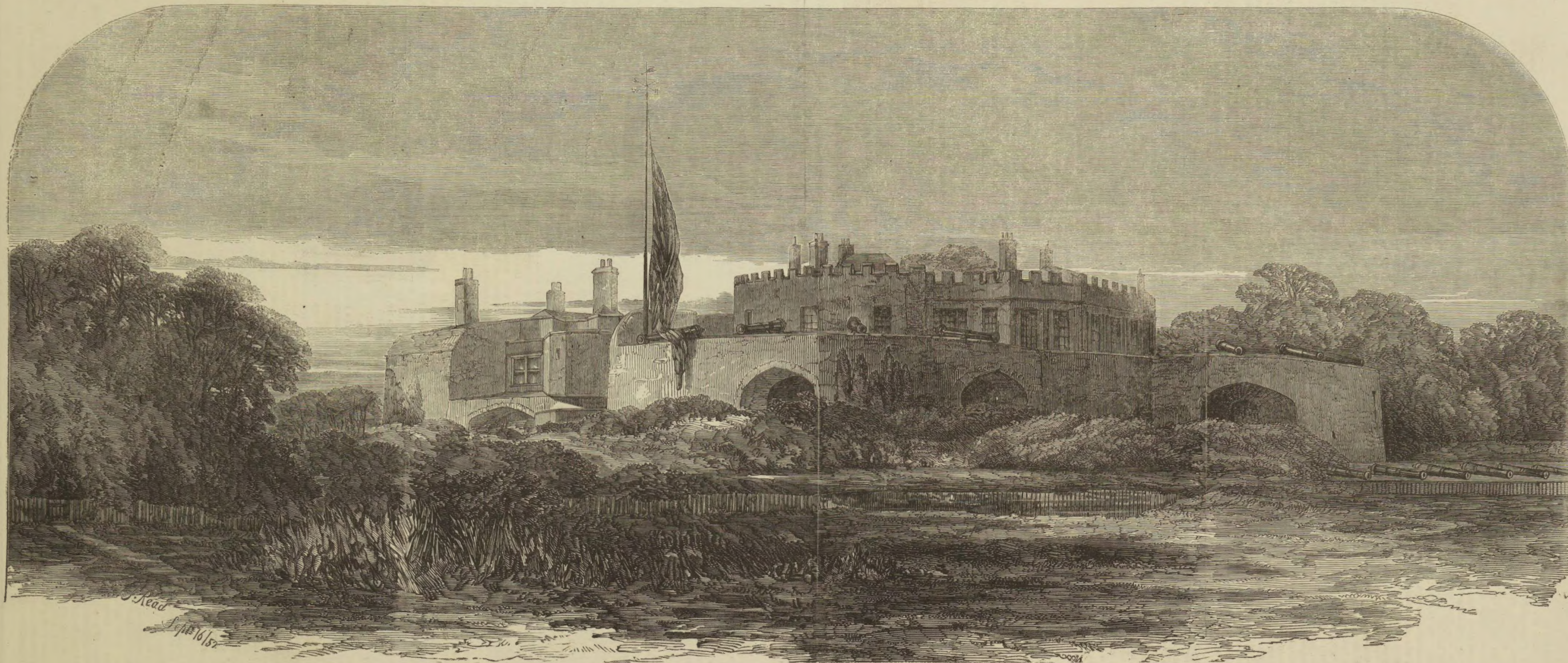
THE DUKE'S LAST MOMENTS, AT WALMER CASTLE.

Our Artist, in the subjoined View of Walmer Castle, has represented, with equal fidelity, the actual and poetic character of an edifice which will in all future time be celebrated as the spot where the illustrious warrior breathed his last. The scene was sketched at sunset a few days after the Duke's decease. The turret window to the left of the flag is that of the little room where the Duke always slept, on his visit to Walmer, and where his body now lies, awaiting the magnificent public funeral which the respect and affection of the nation has demanded. Some erroneous statements in reference

to the Duke's last moments having been circulated, it may be as well to repeat the following authentic facts in relation to the event. The Duke having sat up rather later than usual on the previous night, Mr. Kendall, his valet, a confidential servant of the Duke, who has been his Grace's constant attendant for nearly thirty years, allowed him an extra quarter of an hour on Tuesday morning, and did not call him until a quarter after six o'clock. The Duke replied to his valet's summons in his customary manner, but appeared to wake up with unusual difficulty. Mr. Kendall remarked that his breathing appeared to be much heavier than usual, but the symptoms he observed were in no degree calculated to occasion alarm and after remaining in the room about 20 minutes, he left, determin-

ing to allow his noble master an extra hour's rest. About half-past seven o'clock, one of the housemaids, being engaged near the Duke's room, heard some unusual sounds proceeding from the apartment. She immediately ran to Mr. Kendall's room, and exclaimed, "Oh, Sir, I am afraid something is the matter with the Duke! he is making such a strange noise." The valet, alarmed, ran directly to the Duke's room, but, on arriving there, found all much as when he had left it an hour previously, with one exception, that the Duke was now lying upon his right side instead of his back, and still breathing with apparent difficulty. Approaching his bedside, the valet informed the Duke of the hour. "It is a quarter to eight o'clock, your Grace." The Duke opened his eyes slowly, and

said, "Thank you." After a few moments he inquired, still in the same calm and collected voice, "Where does the apothecary live?" Kendall replied, "In Deal, close by, your Grace." Pausing for a moment, the Duke presently remarked—"I should like to see him, Kendall." The valet immediately wrote a note to Mr. Hulke, requesting his immediate presence at the Castle. Remaining with his noble master while the messenger was gone to Deal, Kendall failed to discover or suspect that any serious ailment affecting the Duke. He certainly breathed with unusual difficulty, but this was attributed to the probable fact of his having caught a slight cold on the previous day. His Grace always "woke hard," as the expression runs, and the occasional uneasiness which



WALMER CASTLE, KENT.

he exhibited was not considered remarkable. When Mr. Hulke arrived, and was introduced to the Duke, he inquired whether his Grace felt any uneasiness in the chest or abdomen. The Duke replied in a somewhat indistinct manner, and it was difficult to know whether he meant his answer to be understood as an affirmative or negative one. Mr. Hulke promised to send a draught, and asked the Duke's permission to call again in the middle of the day, which his Grace appeared to assent to. Mr. Kendall informed Mr. Hulke that the Duke's dinner on the previous day had consisted of mock turtle soup, turbot, and a venison chop, and Mr. Hulke, imagining that his patient was suffering from an attack of indigestion, prescribed accordingly, and before leaving the Castle, at Mr. Kendall's request, saw Lord Charles Wellesley, and gave it as his opinion that no danger was to be apprehended. After the surgeon had left the Castle, Mr. Kendall having previously obtained Mr. Hulke's sanction, prepared some tea, and pouring three or four table-spoonfuls into a saucer, asked the Duke if he would take a little. The Duke replied, "Yes, if you please." These were the last words he ever spoke. He had some difficulty in raising himself to take the tea. Mr. Kendall, observing this, placed his hand behind him, and assisted him. After

THE DUKE'S CHAMBER IN WALMER CASTLE.

I.

Tread lightly! the spot shall be hallowed in story;
Speak not his name but with blessings or sighs.
He sleeps in his lone simple turret in glory:
So great as he was, and so low as he lies.

II.

High were his aims and untarnished his honour;
Danger he scorned in the pathways of right.
England shall miss, when the cloud is upon her,
The spirit that led her through darkness to light.

III.

Tread lightly! To this lonely shore of the ocean
The eyes of the world are directed with grief;
And the voice of the people, with heartfelt emotion,
Makes wail for the loss of their mightiest Chief.

IV.

Weep, England!—weep for the Spirit departed!
Write his pure name on thy worthiest page;
The stoic, the hero, high-souled, and true-hearted,
Who moulded to 'justice the mind of his age.

drinking the tea, he again reclined on the bed, and it was observed that his difficulty of breathing appeared to increase. Mr. Kendall now became anxious; and watching his noble master very closely, he at length observed a peculiar muscular action of the lower jaw—a sort of twitching of the lips and surrounding parts. He had hardly time to notice this when the Duke was seized with a strong convulsive fit, and every muscle in his body was in violent action for some minutes. Mr. Kendall instantly rang the bell with some violence, and Lord Charles Wellesley, with several of the domestics, were on the spot immediately. Mustard poultices were applied to the chest, an emetic was administered, and medical assistance was again sent for. The Duke remained insensible for some time, but at length recovered consciousness, though he did not speak. A succession of fits followed, and the death of this great man occurred, as has been already described, from exhaustion consequent on these repeated attacks.

The Duke of Wellington was a most diligent and indefatigable reader of the newspapers. Nothing was too minute to escape his notice, but the advertisement columns had his special attention; and if, in glancing over them, he found an announcement of a new patent pen, to which were assigned some peculiar



ST. MARY'S CHURCH, WALMER.

virtues, or anything else which struck his fancy, forthwith a despatch was sent off for the article.

His great mental activity has often been a theme of conversation. Shortly before his decease he was engaged in the task of reading a ponderous document, which has excited a good deal of public attention, being no other than the report of the Royal Commission appointed to examine into the management and condition of Oxford University.

This he doubtless did with the view of mastering the details, so as to be able to form a sound judgment on a question of so much national interest, and possibly to take part in the discussion of the subject in the next session. He was, in fact, like the late Sir Robert Peel, one who would take no opinion second-hand, and in this instance he laboured hard to understand the subject in all its bearings. It is a striking, and, all things considered, a most interesting fact, that before his death he

had nearly concluded his gigantic task, and, up to a certain point, it is believed, had read every word of the report.

The Duke's bodily system remained sound to the last. His fine nervous energies were wonderfully preserved. For example, he always shaved himself; and the only change in this respect that was observable as years accumulated was, that a rather longer time was occupied in the process. He also wrote a good firm hand, and, until within a very



INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, WALMER.—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ATTENDING DIVINE SERVICE.

few years before his death, would not unfrequently indite three or four letters before breakfast. There is another fact of the same character. In his 84th year, and half a century after many of his greatest victories, the Duke could raise to his lips a glass of water, filled to the brim, steadily, and without spilling a drop!

Of all his peculiarities, none, perhaps, was more remarkable than the tenacity and accuracy of his memory. He had a clear recollection of many minute facts connected with Mr. Pitt and his times. Some allusion being made one day to an approaching Lord Mayor's dinner, the Duke remarked that the last public dinner attended by Mr. Pitt was on such an occasion, and that he happened to be present, and heard Mr. Pitt make an excellent speech. A speaker at the dinner, in proposing Mr. Pitt's health, spoke of that statesman as "the saviour of his country;" and in his reply to the toast, Mr. Pitt denied that he was the saviour of his country, observing, "The country saved itself by its own exertions, and other countries would be equally fortunate if they would follow its example." This speech the Duke greatly admired; it was after his own heart.

The Duke had many aphoristic rules for his guidance in the common affairs of life. One of his maxims was, that "He who wishes to have anything done well must do it himself."

The plainness of the Duke's diet has been already mentioned. Equally plain was his bed. It consisted of what may be termed a horse-hair mattress—the hard couch of a veteran soldier—covered with wash-leather. A bed of this description he had at each residence; but there was only one pillow, which migrated from place to place with its owner. It is no exaggeration to say of that pillow, that, henceforward, it will be a national heirloom.

On the very morning of his fatal attack it was much feared that he would persist in going to meet Lady Westmoreland at Dover; and not long ago, when suffering from a severe cold, he could not be persuaded to keep his room, but joined the dinner circle in his great-coat.

A pleasing trait in the Duke's character is the long period during which a large proportion of his dependants have been connected with or served him, and the unvarying testimony which they bear to his good and kind qualities as an employer, a landlord, and a master. Exact and punctual in the management of his private affairs, up to the last moment his weekly bills were discharged by him as usual; and this precision, which he carried into everything, made him easily dealt with.

Amid the splendour of his public achievements his conduct as a landed proprietor is apt to be forgotten. Yet was he one of the most liberal and improving landlords in the country. The estate of Strathfieldsaye, which he used to say would have ruined any man but himself, has had more done for it in the shape of permanent improvements—of draining, of chalking, of substantial farm premises, and such like—than perhaps any other single property in the south of England. It was a wretched investment of the public money; but the Duke, true to his usual maxim, did the best he could with it, and the annual income for a long series of years has been regularly laid out upon it.

A general and very erroneous impression has existed in the public mind, that the Duke of Wellington was extremely parsimonious in his contributions to the different benevolent institutions with which London abounds. Such was not the case; but when he gave donations he always requested that it might not be blazoned before the public; and that his private benevolence was extensive we have only to instance the late prosecution of the female Stanley and her male accomplice, who obtained from the Duke above £500 at various periods extending over seven years. He was president of the Royal Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital, President of the Royal Maternity Charity, President of the Eastern Dispensary (Great Alley-street) Patron of the St. George's and St. James's Dispensary, Patron of the Royal Society of Musicians, President of the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress, besides being a liberal though unostentatious supporter of many of the charitable institutions of the metropolis. He was also the oldest governor of the Charterhouse (excepting the Duke of Buccleuch), a governor of King's College, a trustee of the Hunterian Collection, and President of the United Service Institution.

A few days before he died, his Grace, while standing on the platform of the Folkestone station, met with an old pensioner, and at once entered into conversation with him. His Grace questioned the veteran as to what regiment he had served in, and so on, and after hearing the replies, terminated the affair by quietly putting his hand in his pocket and giving the man a sovereign. On this occasion, as on others, the Duke was unattended by a single servant.

WALMER CHURCH.

ST. MARY'S, at Walmer, of which we have Engraved two Views upon the preceding page, has acquired considerable interest from being the village church in which the Duke of Wellington, when sojourning at Walmer Castle, regularly attended divine service; when his Grace was usually seated, as represented in the Illustration.

St. Mary's is a structure of antiquarian character; it exhibits some curious specimens of Norman architecture in its doorways, and on the face of the arch which separates the nave and chancel. Upon the walls are several monuments; particularly of the family of De

The following copy of the Certificate of the Duke's Death will be referred to with interest:—

1852.—DEATH IN THE DISTRICT OF DEAL, IN THE COUNTY OF KENT.

No.	When Died.	Name and Surname.	Sex.	Age.	Rank or Profession.	Cause of Death.	Signature, and Residence of Informant.	When Registered.	Signature of Registrar.
324	Fourteenth September, 1852. Walmer Castle, Walmer.	ARTHUR WELLESLEY.	Male.	83 Years.	Field-Marshal Duke of Wellington, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.H.	Epilepsy certified.	J. W. Hulke, surgeon, Present at the death. 155, Lower-street, D.al.	Fifteenth September, 1852. —	Thos. V. Cavell, Registrar.

I certify that the above written is a true copy of an entry in the Register Book of Deaths in the district of Deal, county of Kent.
Book No. 6.—Extracted this 18th day of September, 1852.

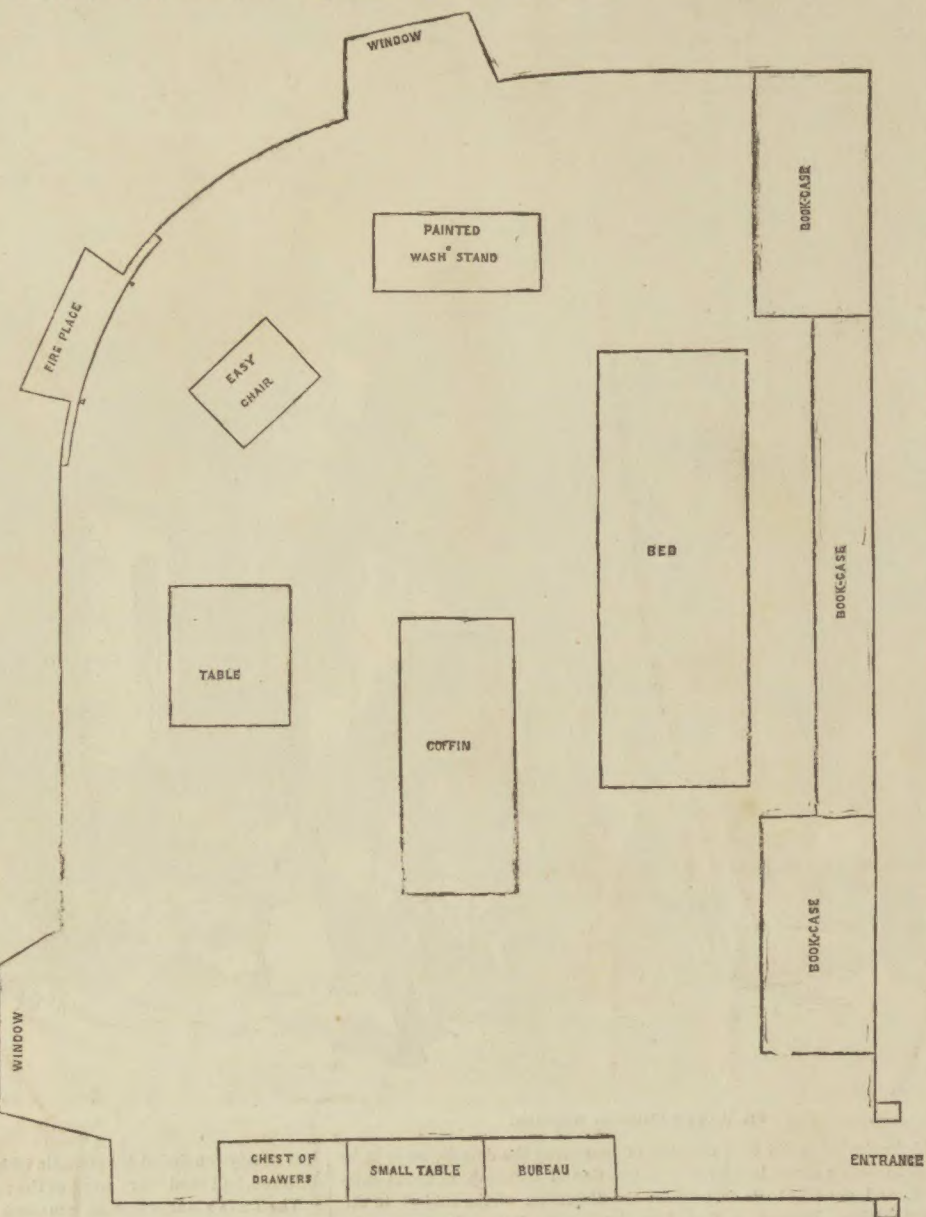
THOMAS VINCENT CAVELL, Registrar.

THE FATHER OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

GARRETT COLLEY-WESLEY, 2nd Lord Mornington, the Duke's father, was born 19th July, 1735 (just thirteen years after the death of the great Duke of Marlborough), and took his seat in the Irish House of

Peers 13th February, 1758. His advance to an Earldom was one of the last acts of King George II.

The musical taste of the family—remarkable in the Duke of Wellington and in his grandfather, the 1st Lord Mornington—was still more developed in the nobleman of whom we are speaking. Even in early



PLAN OF "THE DUKE'S ROOM," IN WALMER CASTLE.

THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

We have been requested by Mr. Hulke to publish the following letter, in correction of some slightly erroneous statements which have appeared in several journals:—

(To the Editor of the ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS.)

On Tuesday morning, the 14th of September, my father received a note from Walmer Castle, stating that the Duke of Wellington wished to see him. He immediately went to the Castle, where he arrived at a quarter to nine o'clock. His Grace complained of uneasiness in the chest and stomach, was perfectly conscious, and answered the questions put to him correctly. Some medicine was ordered, and during its preparation he took some tea and dry toast.

At this time there were no symptoms indicative of danger, and my father came home. Shortly he received another communication, stating his Grace was much worse; he had had fits similar to those he was subject to. My father and I directly went to the Castle. His Grace was in bed, unconscious, breathing laboriously. Remedial measures which in former attacks had been useful were now of no avail. Dr. McArthur soon arrived, and advised an emetic to be given, as this had been very serviceable on a former occasion.

Soon after one o'clock his Grace became very restless—the eye glassy. He tried to turn on the left side—there was, occasionally, twitching of the left arm. Respiration was extremely difficult, but easier when his Grace was raised. This induced us to place his Grace in an easy chair, and his breathing became immediately much more free, but the pulse sank: he was now brought into a more horizontal posture; the pulse rallied for a short time, and then gradually declined. Respiration became very feeble, and, at twenty-five minutes past three o'clock P.M., his Grace expired. So easy and gentle was the transition that, for the moment, it was doubted. I held a mirror before his Grace's mouth, it remained bright, and he was, indeed, no more.

JOHN WHITAKER HULKE.

infancy it was apparent. Long before he could speak, the child delighted in his father's playing on the violin, not merely from a love, common to other children, of a sprightly noise, but from a certain appreciation of harmony, as proved by the following anecdote:—Dubourg, the famous violin player, happening to be at Lord Mornington's on a visit, chanced, on one occasion, to take the violin from his Lordship, which so irritated the child, accustomed to his father playing, that his little hands were obliged to be held. Once, however, the great musician had performed, the case was altered; and it is related that it was then more difficult to persuade the child to let Dubourg return the instrument to his father.

At the same early period of life, he beat correct time to all measures of music: the most rapid changes producing as rapid an alteration in the child's hands. Though thus innately a musician, he never attempted, from indolence, to play any instrument till he was nine years old. At that time, an old portrait-painter, devoted to the sister art, came to Dangan, and under his and his father's tuition, the youthful heir acquired his first rudiments of musical knowledge. He soon learned sufficient to enable him to accompany his preceptors and to play the second violin in Corelli's Sonatas. Not long after he attempted composition, and produced a beautiful Serenata. At this time he had never heard any music but from his father, sisters, and the old painter. When he was about fourteen, the old Lord Mornington determined on having an organ for his chapel, and promised to make his son his organist, if he would learn to play on the instrument. This he accomplished as soon as the organ was completed. It is well known that this grand instrument is more likely to form a composer than any other; and his Lordship, in the course of time, became a great proficient. Rengrave and Geminiani were then the leading musical composers, and to them his Lordship applied for further instruction, as he had never previously been aided in his studies; but, after an examination of his compositions, they both agreed that he had already investigated all the established rules, and had rendered their instruction unnecessary. Church music and full harmony had, at all periods, the greatest charm for Lord Mornington; in those he made his first compositions, and, to the end, took his chief delight. His Lordship had eventually conferred on him, by the University of Dublin, the degree of Doctor and Professor of Music. He died 22d May, 1781, at the early age of forty-six.

A FRENCH WRITER'S ESTIMATE OF THE DUKE'S CHARACTER.

We have much pleasure in quoting the following excellent article on the life and character of the Duke of Wellington, from the *Assemblée Nationale*. It is seldom that such sober and just writing issues in our days from the other side of the Channel:—

Great men disappear, and every day witnesses the fall of the last illustrious personages who have been on the stage since the commencement of the present century. By the death of the Duke of Wellington, M. de Metternich is the sole survivor of the political celebrities who remodelled the map of Europe at the Congress of Vienna. We have already spoken of the Duke of Wellington, and have retraced the principal circumstances of his glorious career. If we now return to this subject, it is to protest against the bad taste of some journals, who, in order to flatter the cause which now triumphs, draw comparisons between the Duke of Wellington and Napoleon Bonaparte. We know nothing more odious than the judgments passed on illustrious contemporaries in the point of view of a narrow and unjust patriotism. This low rhetoric is of a nature to degrade us in the eyes of foreigners, who read our journals, and who take them for the expression of public opinion. Every great nation, we know, is animated with a national spirit, which has its inevitable prejudices. France and England will never agree on the manner of judging Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington. Is it, therefore, impossible, by rising above those passions of circumstance, to arrive at the truth with regard to these two illustrious rivals? The year 1769 witnessed several glorious births; but certainly there was nothing more remarkable in that year than the simultaneous appearance on the stage of the world of the two men who were to meet at Waterloo. It appears that Providence proposed to balance one by the other—to oppose to a great genius one of a quite contrary character—and to bring in contact qualities and gifts of the most dissimilar kind. The principal characteristics of the genius of Napoleon were a prodigious and insatiable imagination, aspiring to the impossible—the most vast and flexible faculties, but also a singular mobility of ideas and impressions. A solid judgment, a cool reason, a wonderful justness of perception, both on the field of battle and in the cabinet; the most penetrating good sense, amounting to a power which became genius; a perseverance which nothing could tire or turn aside; and the most unshakeable firmness in great dangers—such are some of the points which give the Duke of Wellington such a prominent figure in the history of the 19th century. It was at a giant's pace that Napoleon ran through a career which was to lead him for a moment to the head of human beings. By the rapidity of his ascension he dazzled the world, and everything with him took the character of a magic improvisation. His rival, on the contrary, rose with patient and modest slowness, by courageous reflection. He never drew back, however; he always went forward, and his glory followed a progression which escaped all reverses. To speak warmly to the imagination of men, to fascinate them, to excite their enthusiasm, and to labour by every means to inspire them with an admiration, mingled with a little terror, was the constant study of Napoleon, who was far from disdaining artifice to effect his purpose. The Duke of Wellington never thought but of speaking to the reason; he was never seen to do anything in a theatrical manner. Duty was the only rule which he admitted, and which he imposed on others. He had a horror of charlatanism and falsehood. He never sought to excite his soldiers, but sometimes he reminded them that they had to shed their blood because it was their duty. No astonishment will therefore be felt at the difference in the eloquence and the style of the two generals. In the proclamations of Napoleon, particularly in those of the campaigns of Italy, is to be found a powerful orator, who, in the manner of the ancients, engraves great images in the minds of those to whom he addresses himself. The orders of the day, the despatches, and the reports of the Duke of Wellington were written with a cold and austere simplicity. Nothing is given for effect—everything is positive and true. The Emperor Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington were not only great captains, they have also been both called on to play great political parts. History will perhaps decide that in Bonaparte, the organizer was equal to the conqueror. It must not, however, be forgotten that the possession and the use of the sovereign power smoothed down many obstacles. With despotism great things are often easy. It was in a free country that during thirty-seven years, from 1815 to 1852, the Duke of Wellington enjoyed an unequalled influence and authority. Placed by his birth, and more particularly by his glory, at the head of the English aristocracy, he belonged, truly speaking, to no party. It may be said that, in the bosom of the constitutional liberty of his country, the Duke of Wellington exercised a kind of moral dictatorship. The personal force which he was able to give or to withhold from the Government was immense. Although naturally Conservative by his principles and the nature of his genius, the Duke of Wellington did not, however, hesitate to propose to the Crown and to the Parliament the emancipation of the Catholics. In his eyes that reform was politic, just, and necessary. But his opinion was very different with regard to Parliamentary Reform which appeared to him to change the political constitution of old England, and to threaten her with serious dangers. Was he mistaken? The future alone can decide. We only now witness the first consequences of Parliamentary Reform, and twenty years have scarcely passed since the Duke of Wellington opposed it in the House of Lords. We must wait for a longer trial; remarking, however, that the symptoms already seen are far from impeaching the foresight of the illustrious statesman. If at any future period England should find herself exposed to any great danger, either at home or abroad, her ideas would certainly revert to the man who for sixty years served and defended her. She will appreciate still more that wise, firm, and sober genius, who never allowed himself either to be intimidated or to be excited, and whose moderation was rewarded by such a fine destiny. The end and fall of the Emperor Napoleon are the last point of contrast which we pointed out at the outset. The Emperor fell, the scaffolding crumbled away, and he who raised it with heroic temerity only survived his irreparable shipwreck for a few years in exile. His fortunate rival, after a day by which the face of Europe was changed, saw open before him another career, which procured for him a new glory between peace and liberty, and which has only just finished in the midst of the unanimous regret and the gratitude of a great country. Is not such a lesson a striking proof of the final ascendancy of reason and of good sense over all the boldness and the flights of imagination and of genius? The contrast of these two destinies, and these two great historical figures, has appeared to us too instructive not to be rapidly sketched; and, in drawing the comparison, we have set passion aside, and have only sought for truth.

THE "DUKE" AS A MUSICAL AMATEUR.

THE Duke was born of a musical family. His grandfather was an excellent performer on the violin, whose playing excited in the mind of his son (the Earl of Mornington) his early predilections for art. It is Daines Barrington who relates the anecdote of the famed Dubourg's visit to the family seat, when the father of the "Duke," with an acute ear to distinguish between the amateur and the artist, would take the violin from the hands of the paternal connoisseur and insist on the playing of the professor. The Duke's father, as a youth, mastered Corelli's sonatas, at that period considered the climax of violin playing, although in this age the same passages are executed, even on the contra-basso. Totally ignorant, whilst a youth, of the canons of composition, the Earl of Mornington wrote, after his own fashion, pieces that he styled serenatas. His father, having ordered an organ to be built in the chapel, laughingly told him he might be the organist, if he could qualify himself. The son was not dismayed at the sneer, but immediately began to study, and, in a short time, astonished his father by a masterly display on the instrument. It will be recollected by accomplished amateurs, that the University of Dublin conferred on the Earl of Mornington the degree of Doctor and Professor of Music; and there is not a glee-singer in the country who is not familiar with the Earl of Mornington's name, by the "Here in cool grove" for four voices. A volume of the noble Earl's glees was edited by Sir Henry R. Bishop. The Duke, like his father, had a great love for music, and resembled him in the strong liking for massive harmony, as developed in the works of Handel. The career of his Grace probably prevented him from his being, like his ancestors in the two degrees, a practical amateur; but he was consistently a supporter both of opera and oratorio. There is a wealthy commoner living who could give to the world some curious anecdotes respecting the first appearance of Arthur Wellesley behind the scenes of the King's Theatre (Italian Opera). The young soldier never lost an occasion in his Continental campaigns, of sending a *prima donna* of note or a *danseuse* of distinction to this country; and in troubled times, when travelling was not quite so facile as at present, *cantatrices* found their way here with an aide-de-camp's despatches, or with a diplomatist's luggage, on the Duke's interest and kind recommendation. Strange, that amidst the din of war, the warrior should have been looking forward to the operatic delights of London! Since the peace, there has been no more constant patron and visitor at the Italian Opera-house than the "Duke." Where is the fashionable house list without his Grace's name, and what frequenter can recollect an opera night throughout the season, without the remembrance of the Duke's presence in his well-known pit box. He survived many dynasties, he outlived myriads of Ministers, and he also was a spectator of the rise and fall of innumerable opera speculators, with their "stars" of the day. The Duke was as regular in his opera attendance, as he was in his Parliamentary duties. The "House," whether legislative or operatic, would, in fact, have been a barren waste without the presence of the "Duke." He was one of the Presidents of the Royal Festival at Westminster Abbey in 1834; and for some years was one of the Royal and Noble Directors of the Concerts of Ancient Music, which were established in 1776. The conductors of the performances were, Joah Bates, until his death, in 1799; Mr. Grotto-rex, up to 1831; and Mr. Knyvett, down to 1839. In 1840, the directors came to the resolution of each choosing his own conductor; and Sir George Smart, Sir Henry Bishop, Mr. Lucas, and Mr. Turle officiated in turn. This system worked ill, and Sir Henry Bishop was nominated in 1843, until the dissolution of the Ancient Concerts, in 1848. The last directors were the King of Hanover, Prince Albert, the Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Westmorland, the Earl Howe, and the Earl of Cawdor. As the Sacred Harmonic Society advanced in reputation, the subscribers to the Ancient Concerts gradually fell off, to the great regret of Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington, and the Earl of Westmorland, who took great pains to preserve the ancient institution. In the selection of the programme for his particular concert, the "Duke" was opposed to innovation. He liked the received works of the great choral masters, particularly of Handel. The director did not conduct, *baton* in hand, as some of our provincial amateurs might suppose; but he had the choice of the engagements of the principal singers and of the music for the evening. Avison's trio and chorus, "Sound the last timbrel," with its "Praise to the Conqueror," whose "word was our arrow, and whose breath was our sword," generally found its way to the Duke's programme—probably a delicate compliment from the conductor, rather than his own naming. As at the opera, his Grace never missed one of the series of eight concerts; but, as advanced age stole on him, the music seemed to cause a somniferous influence on him, and the Duke's nap at an Ancient Concert became a byword, significant of its soothing or dreary consequences.

For many years, both at his town and country residences, the Duke of Wellington gave musical soirees, at which the most distinguished artists, native and foreign, were engaged. His niece, the Countess of Westmorland, besides being an excellent painter, is an accomplished amateur. The Marchioness of Douro, now Duchess of Wellington, is equally fond of music, and the present Duke is one of the most constant opera habitués. The Duke took especial interest in the compositions and musical parties of the Earl of Westmorland—a composer in every school, sacred and secular, who has given to the world works of no ordinary talent, vocal and instrumental. At the performances of the noble Earl's opera, "Catherine," at Her Majesty's Theatre, and of "Il Torneo," at the St. James's Theatre, the Duke of Wellington took an active part in displaying his interest for the amateur composer's success; and it may be recollected by those who were present at "Il Torneo," that his Grace was one of the most animated in his calls for the Earl, then Lord Burghersh, to appear on the stage at the conclusion of the opera, in obedience to the general call of the house. The Duke was much interested in the success of the Royal Academy of Music, founded by Lord Burghersh. His Grace and the Duchess gave to the institution, in donations and subscriptions upwards of £200. Let it be added to the memory of the great warrior, and statesman, that his purse was always open to the distressed musician, and that there are innumerable artists living who can relate anecdotes of his kind consideration.

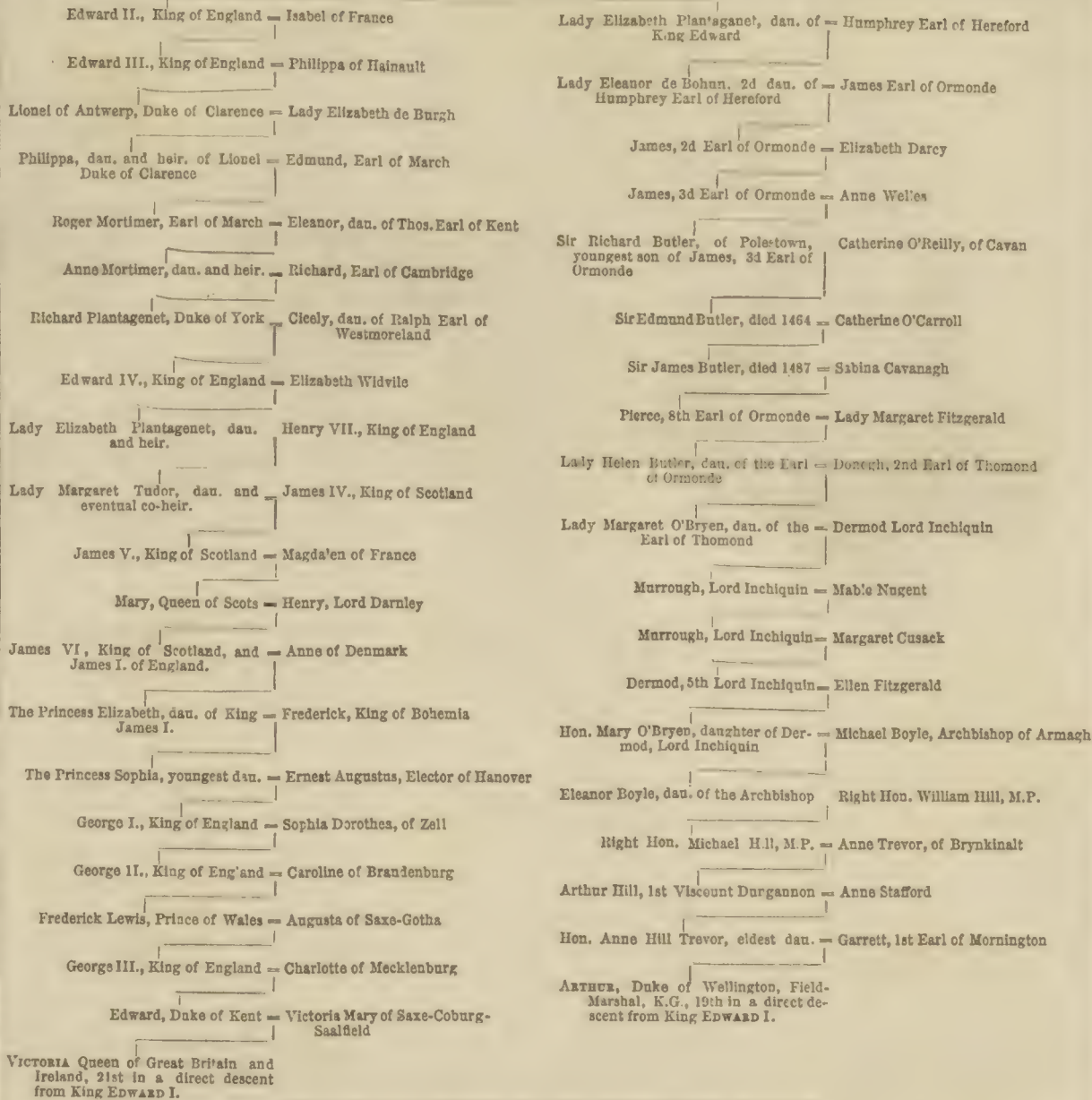
ROYAL DESCENT

OF FIELD-MARSHAL ARTHUR, DUKE OF WELLINGTON FROM KING EDWARD I. AND THE PLANTAGENET SOVEREIGNS.

ONE of the most interesting facts connected with the Duke of Wellington's ancestry is, that his Grace descended, in an unbroken line, from the Royal house of Plantagenet, and was consequently of kin, though remotely, to Queen Victoria. This Royal descent may be thus explained:—

EDWARD I., King of England, had by his Queen, Eleanor of Castile, several children, of whom the eldest son was King Edward II., and the youngest daughter, the Lady ELIZABETH PLANTAGENET, wife of Humphrey De Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Constable of England. King Edward II., as is of course well known, was direct ancestor of the subsequent Royal Plantagenets, whose eventual heiress, the Princess Elizabeth of York, daughter of King Edward IV., married King Henry VII., and was mother of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, from whom QUEEN VICTORIA is eleven in descent. Reverting to the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I., and wife of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, we find that she was mother of a daughter, Lady Eleanor de Bohun, who married James, Earl of Ormonde, and was ancestress of the subsequent Peers of that illustrious house. Pierce, the 8th Earl of Ormonde (6th in descent from the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet), left, with other issue, a daughter, Lady Helen Butler, who married Donogh, 2d Earl of Thomond, and was mother of Lady Margaret O'Brien, wife of Dermot, Lord Inchiquin, and ancestress of the later Barons of that title. The Hon. Mary O'Brien, daughter of Dermot, 8th Lord Inchiquin, married Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and had by him a daughter, Eleanor Boyle, who became the wife of the Right Hon. William Hill, M.P., and grandmother of Arthur Hill, 1st Viscount Dungannon, whose daughter, Anne, Countess of Mornington, was mother of Arthur, 1st Duke of Wellington, who was, through these descents, 19th in a direct unbroken line from King Edward I.

EDWARD I., King of England—ELIZABETH, dau. of Ferdinand of Castile.



The curious in matters of pedigree may be still further pleased to learn that his Grace was 32d in a direct descent from ALFRED the GREAT, and 25th from WILLIAM the CONQUEROR, his Grace's lineage from those famous warriors coming to him through King EDWARD I., who was great-great-great-grandson of the latter, and a descendant in the 13th degree of the former.

WELLINGTON'S BATTLES AT ONE VIEW.

ENGAGEMENTS AT WHICH HE WAS PRESENT, BUT DID NOT COMMAND IN CHIEF.

No	Battles, and where fought.	When fought.	Loss of Men.				Results of the Battle.	Remarks.
			Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.		
1	Netherlands—Alost ..	From Aug 1794 to 1795						{ All these were skirmishes leading to no result, but a British retreat. The loss in killed and wounded was never known
2	Buxtel ..							
3	Neeth ..							
4	Waa'd ..							
5	Meeteren ..							
6	East Indies—Malavelly ..	March 27, 1798	..	..	..	50	Victory	General Floyd commanded
7	Soedaser ..	March 30, 1798	..	..	..	140	De'eat	General Floyd commanded
8	Seringapatam ..	April 5, 1798	..	..	..		De'eat	Loss not recorded
9	Seringapatam ..	May 3, 1798	322	1087	122	1531	Victory	A victory without honour.
10	Denmark—Kjoge ..	May 3, 1807	..	..	..	..	Victory	

ENGAGEMENTS FOUGHT BY TROOPS UNDER HIS ORDERS, BUT AT WHICH HE WAS NOT PRESENT.

1	East Indies—Jalapoor ..	September 3, 1803	..	..	..	..	Doubtful	Stevenson commanded
2	Baroach ..	August 25, 1803	..	..	..	..	Defeat	Woodington commanded
3	Powanghur ..	September 21, 1803	..	..	..	..	Victory	Woodington commanded
4	Moodianoor ..	December 31, 1803	..	..	..	..	Victory	Campbell commanded
5	Spain—Coa ..	March 19, 1810	..	..	..	..	Victory	Crawford commanded. No reliable returns of casualties in these three actions
6	Coa ..	July 24, 1810	..	..	..	..	Defeat	Graham commanded
7	Coa ..	April 5, 1811	..	..	..	..	Defeat	
8	Barossa ..	March 3, 1811	..	..	..	1243	Victory	
9	Albura ..	May 16, 1811	1506	4524	934	6964	Equal	Beresford commanded the allied English and Portuguese
10	Arroyo Molino ..	October 28, 1811	..	..	..	1090	Victory	General Hill commanded
11	Baños ..	May 10, 1811	..	..	..	404	Defeat	Beresford commanded
12	Almaraz ..	May 19, 1812	33	162	..	195	Victory	Hill commanded
13	Tolosa ..	June 23, 1813	..	..	..	400	Victory	Graham commanded
14	Tarragona ..	June, 1813	..	..	..	..	Defeat	Murray commanded. Loss concealed
15	St. Sebastian ..	July 25, 1813	..	..	..	70	Equal	Graham commanded
16	St. Sebastian ..	August 31, 1813	..	..	..	2400	Victory	Graham commanded
17	France—Helleste ..	February 14, 1814	..	..	..	..	Victory	Hill commanded. Small loss
18	Garris ..	February 15, 1814	20	135	12	167	Victory	Hill commanded
19	Ayre ..	February 28, 1814	..	..	..	..	Victory	Hill commanded. Small loss
20	Toulouse ..	April 15, 1814	143	452	231	826	Victory	General Hope commanded

ENGAGEMENTS AT WHICH HE COMMANDED IN CHIEF.

1	East Indies—Conaghuil ..	September 10, 1800	Victory	Loss small
2	Ahmednuggur ..	August 5, 1803	30	110	..	140	Victory	Both victories are claimed by the French
3	Assaye ..	September 24, 1803	630	1593	36	2259	Victory	
4	Arkaum ..	November 29, 1803	46	308	5	359	Victory	
5	Gawilghur ..	December 14, 1803	13	112	..	125	Victory	This is also claimed by the French. It was nearly equal on both sides. Claimed also by the French. A victory claimed by English and French
6	Portugal—Roliça ..	August 13, 1808	..	..	..	500	Victory
7	Vimeira ..	August 21, 1808	135	534	..	669	Victory	400 perished by cold
8	Douro ..	May 11, 1809	..	..	..	120	Victory
9	Spain—Talavera ..	July 28, 1809	..	..	..	6045	Victory
10	Portugal—Busaco ..	September 23, 1810	197	1005	51	1253	Victory	In May, 1813, several skirmishes occurred near Salamanca, with advantage to Wellington
11	Spain—Fuentes d'Onoro ..	May 5, 1811	..	..	..	1695	Doubtful
12	Badajoz ..	May 12, 1811	118	367	..	485	Defeat	
13	Badajoz ..	April 6, 1812	5000	Victory	This loss is that of the two engagements
14	Ciudad Rodrigo ..	September 25, 1811	50	200	40	290	Defeat	
15	Ciudad Rodrigo ..	January 19, 1812	149	592	7	748	Victory	
16	Salamanca ..	June 23, 1812	120	Doubtful	The ultimate result was victory, but the action closed doubtfully
17	Salamanca ..	June 26, 1812	..	..	..	450	Victory
18	Salamanca ..	June 29, 1812	100	400	30	530	Defeat	
19	Salamanca ..	July 22, 1812	694	4270	250	5214	Victory	In a retreat of 240 miles, many hundreds perished, besides the killed
20	Burgos ..	September 19, 1812	..	..	..	420	Defeat
21	Burgos ..	September 22, 1812	..	..	..	380	Defeat
22	Burgos ..	October 4, 1812	366	Defeat	This loss is that of the two engagements
23	Burgos ..	October 18, 1812	..	..	..	948	Defeat
24	Vittoria ..	June 21, 1813	740	4173	..	4913	Victory	
25	Spain & France—Bidassoa ..	October 7, 1813	1562	Victory	The ultimate result was victory, but the action closed doubtfully
26	France—Nivelle ..	November 10, 1813	..	..	..	2900	Victory
27	Nivelle ..	November 11, 1813	..	..	..	2900	Victory
28	Nive ..	December 8, 1813	650	3807	504	4961	Victory	In a retreat of 240 miles, many hundreds perished, besides the killed
29	Orthes ..	February 26, 1814	..	..	..	183	Victory
30	Orthes ..	February 27, 1814	273	1853	70	2355	Victory	
31	Toulouse ..	April 14, 1814	593	3944	18	4555	Victory	The ultimate result was victory, but the action closed doubtfully
32	Belgium—Waterloo ..	June 16, 17, 18, 1815	2432	9528	1875	13,835	Victory	

Total of engagements, 62; probable total of loss on his side, including about 10,000 casualties not recorded, 100,000 men; of whom about 30,000 were killed, or died of wounds in the hospitals.



MOURN FOR THE MIGHTY DEAD.

POETRY BY CHARLES MACKAY

COMPOSED BY SIR H. R. BISHOP.

Slowly.

Mourn for the mighty dead,

Mourn for the spirit fled, Mourn for the lofty head Low in the grave.

Tears such as nations weep Hal - low the he - ro's sleep; Calm be his rest, and deep—

Ar - thur the brave! No - bly his work was done— Eng - land's most glo - rious son,

True - heart - ed Wel - ling - ton, Shield of our laws! E ver in pe - ril's night

Heav'n send such arm of might— Guar - dian of truth and right— Raised in their cause.

dol. Dried be the tears that fall: Love bears the war - rior's pall, Fame shall his deeds re - call—

f Bri - tain's right hand! *ff* Bright shall his mem - 'ry be— Star of su - pre - ma - cy,

Ban - ner of vic - to - ry, Pride of our land!

I.

MOURN for the mighty dead,
Mourn for the spirit fled,
Mourn for the lofty head
Low in the grave.
Tears such as nations weep
Hallow the hero's sleep;
Calm be his rest, and deep,—
Arthur the brave!

II.

Nobly his work was done—
England's most glorious son,
True-hearted Wellington,
Shield of our laws!
Ever in peril's night
Heaven send such arm of might!
Guardian of truth and right;—
Raised in their cause.

III.

Dried be the tears that fall;
Love bears the warrior's pall;—
Fame shall his deeds recall—
Britain's right hand!
Bright shall his memory be!
Star of supremacy!
Banner of victory!
Pride of our land!

FUNERAL OF LORD NELSON.

It is the 9th of January, 1806. The dim grey-light of a winter's morning slowly pierces the fog which hangs over the metropolis like a funeral pall. St. Paul's has just struck seven, and the roll of muffled drums is heard in every part of the city, summoning the volunteer corps to take their melancholy part in the funeral obsequies of the greatest naval conqueror that ever lived. The citizens thus aroused, awake from their slumbers with a dull and heavy sense of some calamity, the precise nature of which the mind had not yet realised. Every one attires himself in the garb of deep mourning. The shops are unopened, and business, by universal consent, is suspended.

At the Horse Guards 10,000 regular troops are in motion. They consist chiefly of the regiments that fought and conquered in Egypt, and participated with the deceased hero in delivering that country from the power of the French. Cavalry, infantry, and horse artillery take part in the procession, leaving the various volunteer corps of the metropolis to keep the way. The colours of the regiments are hung with crape, the officers wear crape on the left arm, and the infantry walk with arms reversed. The procession is headed by the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief, and his staff. After the carriages of the nobility and grand officers of state, follow all the Dukes of the blood Royal, and the Prince of Wales. The funeral car, containing the coffin under a heavy black canopy, is saluted by every corps as it passes. The volunteers present arms, the muffled drums roll, and the trumpets play solemn dirges. Whitehall, the Strand, and Fleet-street are lined with a dense throng of mourners, who regard the coffin with reverential respect. The Lord Mayor and Corporation are waiting at Temple-bar to receive the procession; a few words of form pass between the Lord Mayor and the Duke of York, in which permission is asked, and given, to the funeral cortege to enter the city. The Aldermen fall into the procession after the Masters in Chancery, but an especial distinction has been reserved for the Lord Mayor. By warrant, under the sign manual of his Majesty, the Lord Mayor's place in the procession was that which the King himself would have filled, had he been present; namely, between the Prince of Wales and the Herald of Arms, who preceded the Great Banner. Into this distinguished place in the procession the Lord Mayor's state carriage is led, and the melancholy cortege slowly wends its way to St. Paul's, which it enters by the great western door.

What language can describe the sombre magnificence of this noblest of Protestant temples! Space is left in the central aisle for the procession to pass to the choir; and thus the finest architectural vista in Europe, save one, awaits the gaze of the mourners, who are to enter at the West door. On each side of the vacant space left for the procession are high stages of seats, containing thousands of spectators of both sexes, all attired in the deepest mourning. But it is under the vast proportions of the dome that the spectacle reaches its climax of grandeur. The stages of seats, which here reach to a vast height, take an amphitheatrical arrangement similar to that of the cupola itself. This immense expanse is densely filled with spectators, the majority of whom are ladies. Women of the highest rank and fashion are here to do honour to their gallant defender, and to look for the last time upon his remains. The fronts of all the stages in the Cathedral, and of the marble pillars supporting the orchestra, are hung with black cloth. The choir is, also, heavily hung with black, and is remarkable for its solemn funeral aspect. A temporary orchestra has been erected over the entrance to the choir, immediately underneath and in front of the organ, and this also is hung with black. All eyes are directed to a large octagonal platform, in the central space under the dome, enclosed and covered with black cloth, in the centre of which the grave has been opened to receive the mortal remains of Horatio Viscount Nelson. At the head of the grave are seen the desks for the officiating prelates—the Bishops of Lincoln and Chester. But they, with the prebendaries, minor canons, and choristers, are still at the great west door, waiting to fall into the procession. At the east and west sides of the enclosed platform are folding-doors, which are thrown open to admit the procession as it wends its way in a straight line under the cupola from the west to the east end of the church. At that central spot we shall see the Prince of Wales pause, and look around with a feeling of awe and admiration at the countless thousands who, with tearful eyes, and hearts throbbing with patriotism and gratitude, persuade themselves that the Prince, also, is grateful to the man who had poured out his heart's blood like water in defence of his father's throne and kingdom. We shall also see the Dukes of Kent and Sussex interchange exclamations of surprise and awe upon this funeral platform. But these countless thousands who fill every possible seat in the great Cathedral Church, it is time we spoke of them. What are they thinking of? What are the ideas most generally present to their minds? Do they think much of the war? Do they love the memory of Nelson? Needless questions. The war is still raging. Napoleon is overrunning the Continent. The continental mails have brought tidings that morning that a new crown has been ordered to be made by the Paris jewellers;

come next, and after them follow all the sons of the Sovereign to wit, their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Kent, the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Sussex, and the Duke of Cambridge. A fine family of Royal brothers they are, and their dignified port and personal presence are not entirely concealed by their mourning-cloaks. A halt takes place while the body is taken from the funeral car, and covered by the pall. It is borne by twelve seamen of the *Victory* with staggering gait up the steps, and there, within the gate, is received by the supporters and pall-bearers. Near the entrance of the Cathedral are the Dean and Prebendaries, who, attended by the choir, fall into the procession immediately after the Great Banner, and before the herald who bears the trophies. Thus the sad procession advances along the nave, four Admirals on each side of the coffin supporting the pall, and six Admirals on each side of the coffin, supporting a black canopy over the coffin. The musical service is by Dr. Croft; and the vicars choral of St. Paul's are assisted by those of Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal.

As the coffin slowly advances up the central aisle, tears and sobs burst forth on both sides. Grief is infectious, and the manliest are not ashamed to feel the "luxury of woe." There lay the cold inanimate corpse of the man who in that supreme hour of national peril, when every other country was polluted by the tread of the invader, preserved our national honour intact, and shattered the fleets of France. The national jealousy of Spain was a bequest of the great Armada; and here lay all that was mortal of the Great Captain who had put his heel upon the navy of Spain, and reduced that ancient enemy of England to the level of a fourth-rate power. Mutilated and mangled as was that helpless body—deprived of an eye and of a right arm, and with scars of a dozen hurts, "the least, a death to nature," and that hideous galling wound still unstanched, which had cruelly struck down the Great Admiral in the moment of victory—who could look upon it without the liveliest emotion? When the coffin emerges in sight of the vast concourse beneath the dome, a feeling of hysterical grief is displayed by not a few, and none looked on unmoved.

And now the pealing organ sends its waves of sound throughout the vast building, and reverberations like distant thunder roll around the lofty dome. Voices are then heard mingling with the music; and, as the programme is in every one's hands, it is known that the choir are singing the beautiful 39th Psalm, "Behold, thou hast made my days as it were a span long, and mine age is nothing in respect of thee; and verily every man living is altogether vanity." A pause, and then again the organ and vicars choral break out into the 90th Psalm, "Lord, thou hast been our refuge from one generation to another," in which pious ascription the immense congregation fervently join in spirit. This psalm contains that well-remembered verse—"The days of our age are three-score years and ten; and though men be so strong that they come to four-score years, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow: so soon passeth it away, and we are gone." Lord Nelson was cut off in the prime of life; but for the venerable warrior, whose remains are not yet entombed, this verse possesses a beautiful appropriateness. The *Magnificat* follows; and after the anthem, "Lord, let me know mine end," the banners and plumes near the door of the choir begin to wave. The procession returns from the choir to the platform around the grave, and the subsequent proceedings are regarded with breathless interest.

The scene presented to the Royal Dukes and chief mourners on their return from the choir was one of magical sublimity. While the funeral service was being performed the shades of evening began to fall upon the cathedral. If the possibility of this circumstance had not been at the last moment foreseen, the lowering of the coffin into the tomb would have been almost invisible, and the spectacle would have lost its grandest element. A great number of torches were lit in the choir, both below and in the galleries. But the happiest feature in this extemporised illumination was a gigantic octagonal framing of wood boarded on the outside, and finished at the top by eight angles, and at the bottom by a smaller octagon. This wooden frame was painted black, and on it were disposed about 130 patent lamps of the greatest illuminating power known in those days. This gigantic lantern (the idea of which was no doubt borrowed from the immense cross, thickly studded with brilliant lamps, by which the interior of St Peter's at Rome used to be lighted on Holy Thursday) was suspended under the centre of the dome, and when drawn up gave a sufficiency of light for all artistic purposes. The pencil of Rembrandt would fail to depict the brilliancy of this central focus of light, the gradations of light and darkness, the vast, deep, and sombre perspective when the eye attempted to pierce the gloom of the nave, the projection of fixed or moving shadows, and the myriads of faces which were rendered visible.

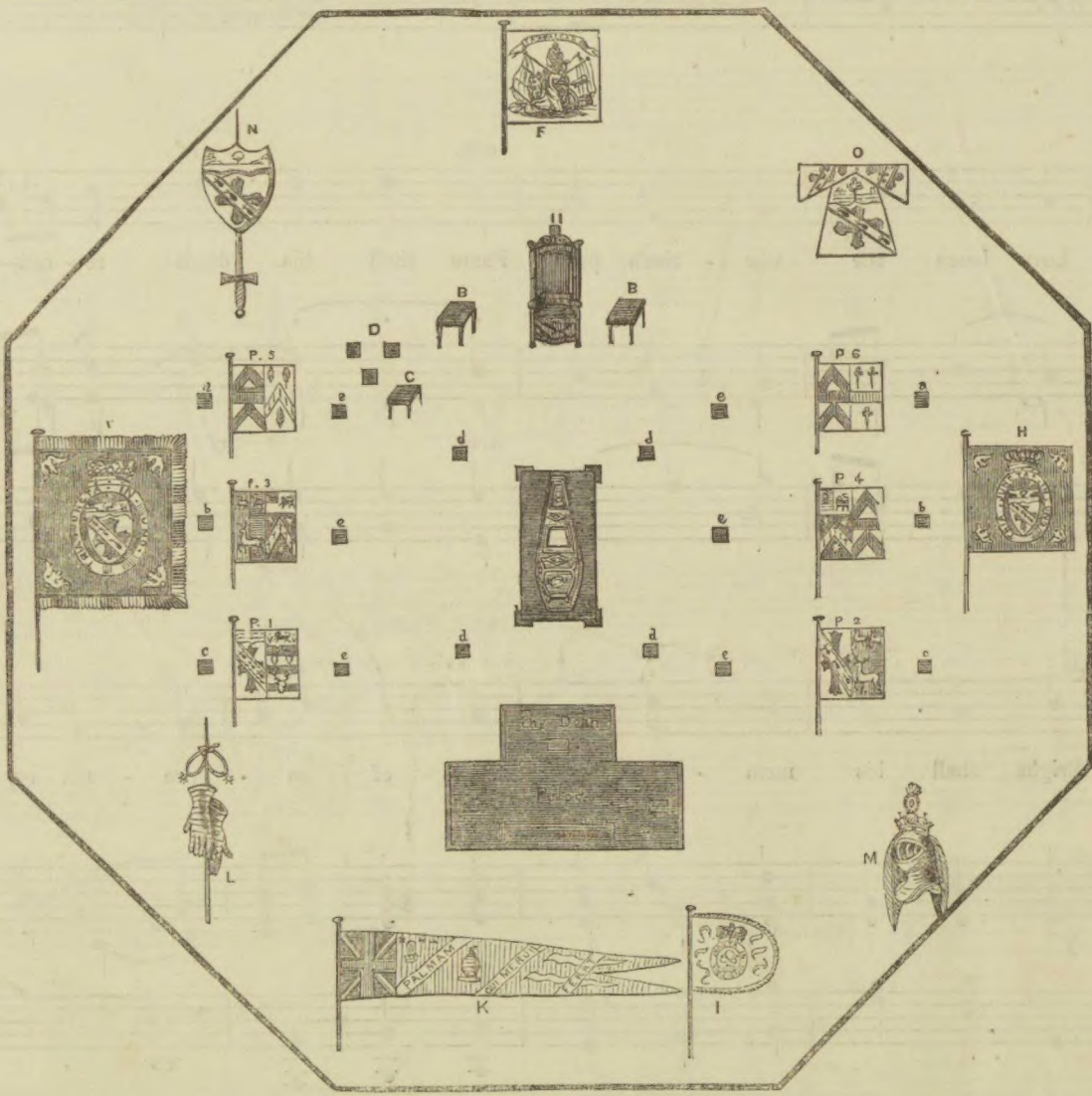
The evening service being ended, the organ played a solemn dirge, and the corpse was brought back from the choir to the place of interment. Here was sung, "Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live." Then, while the officiating minister said, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed," the coffin was gradually lowered, amid the breathless silence of the assemblage, by invisible machinery. Some earth was thrown upon the body, and the whole of the choir sang, "I heard a voice from heaven." The concluding anthem was, "His body is buried in peace; but his name liveth evermore."

Before the body was lowered, the grand funeral canopy of state borne over it was removed, in order that the spectators might take one last look at the coffin. The bier upon which the coffin was placed sank into the oblong aperture by invisible means, the apparatus being totally concealed below the pavement of the church. Thus gradually, and almost imperceptibly, the coffin sank out of view, and strained eyes that thought they saw it still, saw it not. In a few minutes the nearest the grave had taken their last look. A deep silence prevailed, broken only by a few sobs. Garter King-at-Arms here advanced to the grave, and in a solemn voice proclaimed the titles of the deceased Peer. The officers of Nelson's household broke their staves, and gave the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the grave; in which also the flags of the *Victory* were deposited, having been first furled up with heavy hearts by the tars of that immortal ship. The trophies of the deceased, with the standards, banners, and bannerols, having been previously deposited on a table behind the chief mourner, the solemn procession slowly departed from the Cathedral, in pretty nearly the same order in which it had entered.

Thus terminated a funeral, "the greatest, most grand, and solemn that ever took place in England."

The entire population of the metropolis was enabled in one way and another to participate in the obsequies. Nor was the sombre pageant we have described the only mode adopted of paying respect to the hero's remains. The funeral took place on Thursday; but the ceremonies commenced on the Sunday previous, on which day Nelson's corpse lay in state, in the Painted Hall, Greenwich. All London flocked to this sight; and, for three days, the road to Greenwich was choked with horses, pedestrians, and carriages. Those were not the days of Mr. Commissioner Mayne and efficient police arrangements, and consequently, in the struggle to obtain admission into the Painted Hall, the rush was frightful, and many persons, especially ladies, were severely injured. So great was the confusion, that a detachment of guards was sent from London to assist in restoring order. It is calculated that on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, 20,000 persons were unable to obtain admission. A wish has been expressed in some quarters that the remains of the Duke of Wellington should lie in state; and, if it should be thought desirable to gratify this desire, it is to be hoped the authorities will extend the time to at least a week. Nor was the lying in state at Greenwich all, for Nelson's remains were brought up the river to Whitehall-stairs in state on Wednesday, with great pomp and circumstance. The coffin was placed upon a high bier, in a state barge, in order that it might be seen by the countless thousands who thronged the river banks. The procession by water was very imposing, from the number of state barges and great officers engaged in it. Minute guns were fired from the time of departure from Greenwich until the time of reaching the Admiralty. The body lay in state on Wednesday night in the Captains' room at the Admiralty. The room was brilliantly lighted all night with wax candles placed near the coffin, on the top of which were the coronet and cushion. The Rev. Mr. Scott, the chaplain to Lord Nelson, who had sat up every night with the corpse since it had lain in state, also sat by the coffin all Wednesday night. But, although the body thus lay in state at the Admiralty, the public were not admitted into the room, which was a severe disappointment to the thousands who besieged the Admiralty.

Upon a review of the entire ceremonial connected with the funeral of Nelson, it would appear that a generous desire existed on the part of his Majesty George the Third that all his subjects should be invited and encouraged to participate in the solemnities, and to evince their respect for Lord Nelson's memory in the way most suitable to their rank and station. We trust that no churlish arrangements on the part of the authorities may come between Queen Victoria and her gracious wish that all possible honour should be paid by all her subjects to the memory of the great Duke of Wellington.



- A. Chief Mourner
- B. Supporters of the Chief Mourner
- C. Garter
- D. Comptroller, Treasurer, and Steward
- F. Banner of Emblems
- G. Great Banner
- aa. Assistant Mourners
- bb. Pall Bearers
- cc. Canopy Bearers
- ddd. The Banner of the Deceased, as a Knight of the Bath
- eee. The Guidon
- II. Train-bearer to the Chief Mourner
- K. The Standard
- L. Helm and Crest
- M. Sword and Target
- O. Surcoat
- P. Bannerols of the Family Lineage
- 1. Lord Nelson and Lady Nelson
- 2. Nelson, before the Augmentation, and Catherine Suckling, his mother
- 3. Dr. Suckling, and Turner his wife
- 4. Sir C. Turner, and Walpole his wife
- 5. Walpole, and Burwell his wife
- 6. Sir E. Walpole, and Crane his wife

PLAN OF THE PLATFORM, AND DISPOSITION OF THE BANNEROLS, TROPHIES, ETC., AROUND THE COFFIN, AT THE FUNERAL OF LORD NELSON, UNDER THE DOME OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, ON THE 9TH OF JANUARY, 1806.

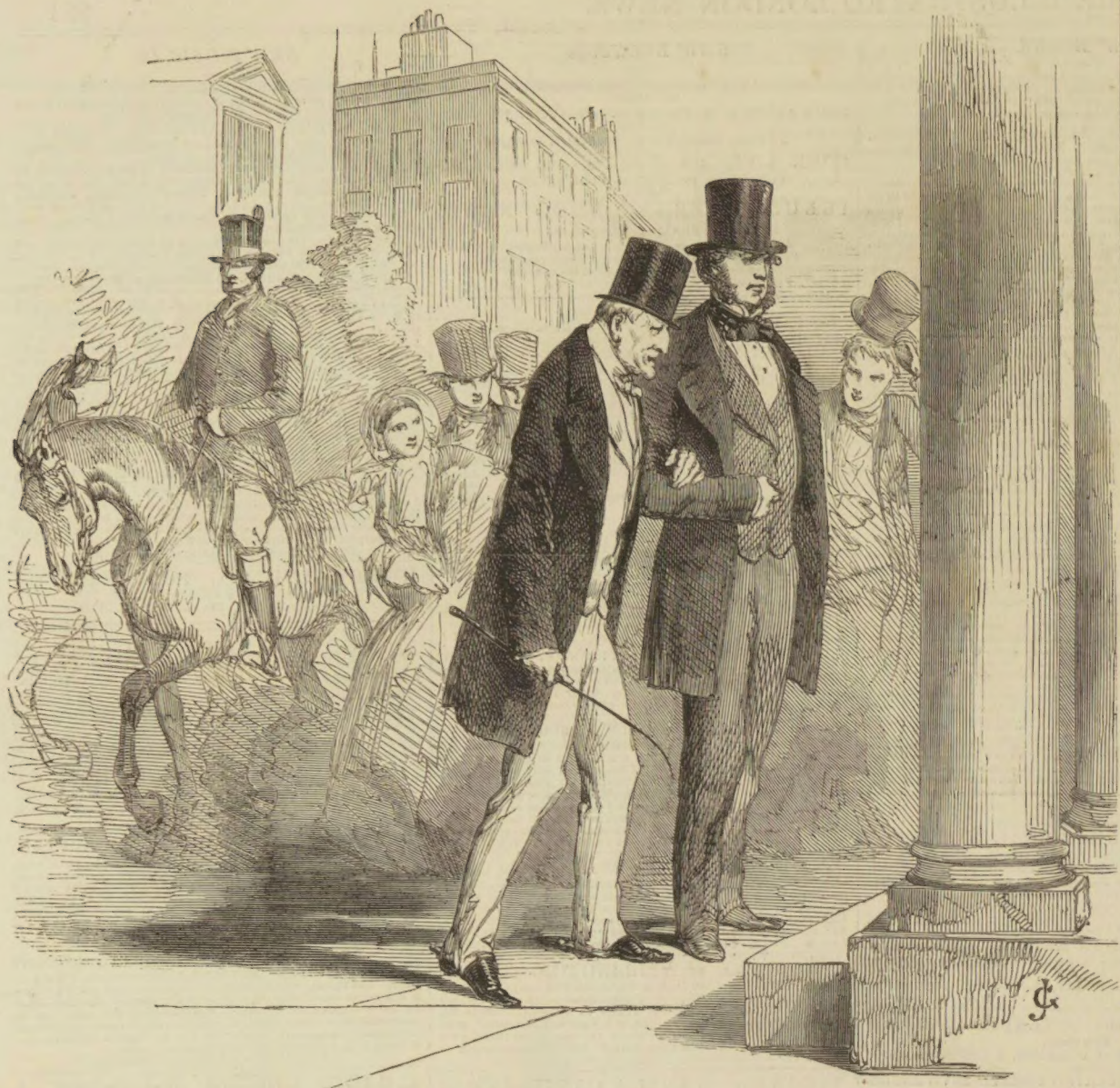
and the city quidnuncs, who are waiting under the cupola the arrival of the procession, by no means agree who is to wear it. Some think Bavaria is to be created into a kingdom; others that Napoleon intends to be crowned Emperor of Germany. War, accursed war, is the universal theme among that vast assemblage. Old and young, the gentle and the rougher sex, are alike familiar with tales of direct carnage. Every *Gazette* brings its naval engagement, or its capture of peaceful merchantmen. The talk in drawing-rooms, and at the tea-table, is of tremendous broadsides—of crashing splinters—of masts falling by the board—of the lee-scutters running with blood—of sharpshooters in the enemy's rigging picking out the English officers with deadly aim—of amputations in the cockpit, where the scenes of the shambles are paralleled—of men shot through the spine like Nelson, or losing their heads or limbs by chain-shot—of hundreds of human beings blown into the air by the ignition of the powder-magazine. An English man-of-war, or frigate, is spoken of as a sort of bull-dog that will fly at anything, and retain its hold with indescribable tenacity and valour. An English captain had a feverish anxiety to get alongside his enemy—not so much that he might disable him by a broadside, as that he might board him, and drive him from his guns with cutlass and pistol, until the main-deck was his own. If in that huge building you had asked the youngest City miss what an English frigate would do alongside a French man-of-war, she would have answered, without the smallest hesitation, "Why, try and board." These were Nelson's tactics; and they became those of his captains. The women of fifty years ago knew the infinite personal bravery displayed by their gallant defenders in these encounters; and a sailor was always sure of a grateful smile wherever he appeared. Nelson was the god of war among these heroes. When he struck, it was with the thunderbolt. He had snatched the most glorious naval victory ever gained by England. The combined fleets of France and Spain, under Villeneuve and two Spanish Admirals, had struck to him at Trafalgar. Then Nelson's character, emotional and impulsive as it was, made him the darling of the people. His domestic life had been unhappy; he had "loved not wisely, but too well;" he had done foolish things under the spell of a beautiful enchantress; and he was tremulously sensitive to the applause of his countrymen. If his greatness lifted him above his

contemporaries, his weaknesses did not seem so much to debase him as to elevate them. If we might travel out of the art of war for Nelson's parallel, we might find one in the loving and gifted Mozart. He had, like Mozart, a child-like need of love; and entire self-reliance in action, whenever his own art was concerned, was linked, as in Mozart, with an intense desire for sympathy in the affections. What Beethoven was to Mozart, the Great Duke is to Nelson; but a prouder self-respect, and a colder and perhaps more rugged grandeur, also speak of the godlike on earth, and satisfy the need of man for hero-worship. "Kiss me, Hardy!" Thousands of bright eyes had dropped tears of womanly pity, like rain, at these simple words; for, victory won, the hero had thought

Of England, home, and beauty,

and in his dying hour felt the need of that love and tenderness which he craved even from the rough and gallant sailor. Carrying a banner in the closest attendance upon the corpse, these fair mourners were now to see Captain Hardy, in whose favour such a manifestation of feeling breaks out, that before the ceremony is over, the city receive peremptory instructions from their female friends to invite the gallant captain to a public dinner, which accordingly takes place a few days afterwards.

A piercing dirge from trumpets at the western entrance, causes every face in the nave to be turned to the great west door. The funeral cortege has arrived. The cavalry, who head it, are drawn off, and return to their barracks. The Scotch regiments remain at the west gate. Forty-eight Greenwich pensioners, with forty-eight seamen and marines from the *Victory*, enter the west gate, ascend the steps, and divide in a line on each side under the great west portico. The various members of the procession, as they arrive, enter the church, and divide on each side, those of inferior rank remaining nearest the door. Mr. Pitt is unable to attend from illness, but Charles James Fox is there; and the vast assemblage are spared the pain of foreknowing that before the present year is out, the grave will open to receive both these great statesmen. Lord Henry Petty is there; and, few, indeed, of that hushed crowd will live, as he will do, to take a part, half a century afterwards (as the Marquis of Lansdowne) in the next great ceremonial of this kind. Sheridan and Tierney, and Windham are recognised by the crowd, as are the Earl of Moira, Lord Sidmouth, and Lord Castlereagh. The great officers of State



A STREET REMINISCENCE OF THE DUKE.

STREET REMINISCENCE OF THE DUKE.

THE *vraisemblance* of this Sketch will be acknowledged by any one who has seen the Duke in a leading street of the west end of the town; his Grace having alighted from his horse, which is led by his groom, while the Duke takes the arm of a friend upon the footpath, to make a morning call. In Piccadilly we have often witnessed such a scene as this Sketch represents.

THE DUKE'S HORSE AT WALMER.

At page 261, we have Sketched the Stables at Walmer, visited by the

Duke on the Monday preceding his death. We here Engrave a portrait of the Horse, dark brown, which the Duke had ridden for two years past: upon the further horse is the Duke's groom.

BUST OF THE DUKE, AND TENURE-FLAG, IN WINDSOR CASTLE.

THE visitor to Windsor Castle will, doubtless, recollect, among the Curiosities and Works of Art in the Guard Chamber, two busts, each with a banner suspended over it, to the right and left of the doors which

flank the fire-place of the apartment. The bust on the left is that of the Duke of Marlborough, copied from Rysbrach, by Sievier; and the bust on the right is that of the Duke of Wellington, by Chantrey. Above each bust is suspended a small banner: that over the Marlborough bust being the tenure-flag, by presenting which yearly, the estate of Blenheim is held; and that over Wellington is, in like manner, the tenure-flag by which Strathfieldsaye is held. The banners are renewed yearly; the former on the 2d of August, the anniversary of the battle of Blenheim; and the latter on June 18th, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. We shall merely describe the latter, which, with Chantrey's bust, we have Engraved as a Wellington memorial. The flag is a small tri-coloured one, with a staff surmounted by an eagle, and is the last one presented.

The Blenheim banner was formerly kept in another part of the Castle, namely in Queen Anne's closet, which commanded a fine view over the northern terrace; for in this closet the Queen was seated when she received the news of the victory of Blenheim. It was afterwards kept in



THE WATERLOO FLAG, AND BUST OF THE DUKE, IN WINDSOR CASTLE.

the Queen's presence-chamber, on an elegant buhl table. But it now hangs over the bust of the hero, in the guard-chamber, as we have explained. It is the banner of France—white sarcenet, embroidered with three fleurs-de-lis.



THE DUKE'S HORSE, AT WALMER.